

THE ANCIENT AND HISTORICAL MONUMENTS AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AND REMAINS (DECLARATION OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE) AMENDMENT BILL, 1953.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR NATURAL RESOURCES AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH. (SHRI K. D. MALA-VIYA): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act, 1951.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is that leave be granted to introduce a Bill to amend the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act, 1951.

The motion was adopted.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE APPROPRIATION (No. 3) BILL, 1953—continued.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We now pass on to the further discussion of Mr. Shah's motion about the Appropriation (No. 3) Bill. Mr. Banerjee.

SHRI S. BANERJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Chairman, I rise to oppose the Bill. My object in doing so is to bring to the notice of the Government as also of this House certain very important matters which have been given a complete go-by in deeds, though not in words. It is not possible for me, nor do I intend doing so, to traverse the whole ground covered by the Bill. I intend therefore to confine my remarks only to matters relating to rehabilitation of refugees from East Bengal, labour and unemployment and external affairs. It will not be far from the truth to say that the whole expenditure referred to in this Bill is related to the First Five Year Plan, the proper implementation of which, in the words of the authors of the Plan, requires

the co-operation of the entire nation and requires an all-out mobilisation of the efforts and resources of the people in support of the plan. Is there any possibility for this in the mental makeup of the present Government? Most emphatically not. I will deal first of all with the rehabilitation of refugees. On page 131 of the Summary of the First Five Year Plan, it is laid down:—

"Upto' March, 1952, the Government had incurred a total expenditure of Rs. 90.54 crores on rehabilitation (as distinct from relief) of displaced persons. Rs. 27.81 crores are proposed to be spent during 1952-53."

Rs. 12.67 crores are proposed to be spent during 1953-54, as the figure on page 6 of the Appropriation Bill shows.

It also says on page 132:—

"The rehabilitation of 7.5 million displaced persons presents numerous special problems but, viewed broadly, it has to be regarded as an essential aspect of the development of the economy of the country as a whole. The programme of rehabilitation is an integral part of the Five Year Plan although necessarily it has to be kept under constant review, in particular, for meeting the exigencies of the changing situation in respect of displaced persons from East Pakistan."

There is also on page 42 of that Summary laid down:—

"Public co-operation and public opinion constitute the principal force and sanction behind planning.

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Public co-operation as envisaged in the Plan transcends differences of party.

The interests of parties are thus relegated to the background and the

[Shri S. Banerjee.] common objectives of the nation regarded as a unity are the sole consideration."

This is the one picture.

And let me now place before you another picture drawn by the only-functioning refugee organisation in West Bengal; I mean the United Central Refugee Council of which I, fortunately or unfortunately, happen to be the President. The U.C.R.C. on their own initiative and of their own accord instituted a fact-finding survey of the refugee population of West Bengal. In their Introduction they begin by saying:—

"While the Government was all along claiming substantial progress in the field of refugee rehabilitation, our experience regarding the condition of the refugees in West Bengal lead us to take a contrary view. Serious shortcomings in the field of policy, planning and its execution in the matter of refugee rehabilitation were observed not only by us but by everybody having something to do with the life of the refugees."

It was quite true that upon an insistent demand for an enquiry into the condition of the refugees in West Bengal, the Government of India was at last forced to institute an enquiry by a fact-finding committee in which none but the officers of the Government had any part to play. The U.C.R.C. from the very outset asked the Refugee Rehabilitation Minister of the Union Government, while he was in Calcutta, but to our utter regret—I mean the regret of the U.C.R.C.—he did not accede to our request. But circumstances forced him and on the 9th of December 1952 he had to declare the formation of a fact-finding committee. We approached the fact-finding committee; we offered our whole-hearted co-operation; we offered to go along with them and find out facts of the refugees so that a proper, adequate and a genuine plan of rehabilitation might be chalked out. But it was not done. It may be of interest

to remind the Members of this House here what one of the members of the fact-finding committee appointed by the Government of India, viz., Shri N. K. Ray Chowdhury, wrote to us—I mean the U.C.R.C. He wrote as follows:

"It is not contemplated that we shall examine any witness or ask any individual or representative of any organisation to appear or give his views. After we have seen things for ourselves we come to our own conclusion after considering all the materials we have collected."

That is to say, the officers of the Government who were responsible for bungling the whole rehabilitation problem of the refugees will see things for themselves and come to their own conclusion—an excellent arrangement and the less said about it the better for all concerned.

Is not the co-operation of the public necessary? They may stand up and say, "We do not want public cooperation." We can understand that position. But they shout from housetops that they want public co-operation. But, in fact, in matters in which public co-operation is absolutely essential, e.g., here in the matter of refugee rehabilitation, they turn a deaf ear to all our appeals for co-operation.

Then, Sir, let me read out from another portion of the report prepared by the U.C.R.C. I lay this whole report on the Table. "Enquiries reveal that it would be a serious mistake to assess the rehabilitation of refugees from the amount of money that has been spent for rehabilitation." Quite true that crores have been spent but that has not taken us an inch further towards rehabilitation of the refugees. The assessment should, on the contrary, be made from the point of view of absorption of the refugees in social production. Judged from this point of view it would be apparent from our inquiry that the refugees sent for rehabilitation according to the different types of schemes for rehabilitation have not actually been rehabilitated in most of the cases. The refugees have not been

able to get themselves absorbed in the process of social production. In short, the measures taken so far by the Government for rehabilitation have proved extremely unsatisfactory. These measures were useful only to provide the refugees with relief during the period but not rehabilitation." **Sir**, I speak of U.C.R.C. over and over again because that it is the only functioning organisation working for the purpose of rehabilitating the refugees in West Bengal. They suggested also a mechanism to effect a settlement of the refugee problem with the Government. You may know, **Sir**, that there are about 200 self-made refugee colonies in Bengal. They have, to say the truth, occupied lands belonging to others. What else could they have done? When they found that the Government was callous to them, that the Government was not prepared to do anything for them, they had perforce to occupy those lands lying fallow and waste and by their own efforts they have transformed those waste lands into small townships and they suggested and even now do suggest to effect a settlement in the following way. Let a conference be held by Government with the representatives of the colonies to find out possible details of the terms of settlement and later on a conference be held with the representatives of the land-owners, the colonists and the Government to come to a common agreement. If, **Sir**, you do really want rehabilitation of refugees, if you do not want to play with the problem but to tackle it, you have to do it, or, if your hearts cry for the welfare of the landlords, say that openly that you are not prepared to rehabilitate the refugees at the cost of the interests of the landlords. We can understand that position. But the Government says one thing and does quite the contrary. That is a state of affairs which cannot be tolerated for any length of time.

AN HON. MEMBER: That is nothing new.

SHRI S. BANERJEE: Quite so but then we have to continue to knock at the doors of the Government. The door will either open by itself or it will be broken open by the efforts of the

people, I do not know how it will be. It will all depend upon the attitude the Government takes in the matter.

Sir, these proposals were never considered by Government. On the contrary they are finding out ways and means to evict the refugees from their own self-made colonies when the interests of the landlords require it.

Sir, I will not take up much of your time by reading out extracts from the report prepared by the U.C.R.C. I place the whole report on the Table and I hope the hon. Minister will go through the whole report and see his way to accept all the constructive suggestions contained in it.

Let me now come to the question of labour and unemployment. The hon. the Finance Minister in his speech introducing the Budget openly declared that there was no unemployment in the country.

KHWAJA INAIT ULLAH (Bihar): Did he say that?

SHRI S. BANERJEE: Yes, it amounted to that. I would ask the Government to ponder over the unemployed who are all over the country creating a situation which will act as a boomerang on the Government. Unemployment is a monster which has grown out of the policy of the Government, a monster which bids fare to swallow the Government itself. That is the position in which the Government has forced the people. I have brought with me a petition signed by about 20,000 of jute workers of West Bengal, who are threatened with retrenchment. Many thousands have already been retrenched during the last few months. The other day the hon. the Labour Minister who was present during the Question Hour said that there was no mechanism to assess the number of unemployed. What are the Government here for? If, **Sir**, they do not give any relief to the unemployed, I can understand it and can only say with regret that it has been committing a crime. On the other hand, if they do not know, or do not have a mechanism to assess the number of

[Shri S. Banerjee,] unemployed I cannot understand it and can only say that the Government has not the imagination, far from having the will, to assess the magnitude of unemployment and to provide for relief accordingly. If therefore they have to justify their existence, they have to make possible provision, as far as lies in their power, for giving relief to the unemployed, to see that retrenchment is done away with. It is a matter of common knowledge now, after the demonstrations sometime back before the West Bengal Assembly House by the unemployed and the retrenched personnel, that the Government have stopped retrenchment in the factories. Before that about 25,000 were retrenched in the course of three months. Demonstrations have their effect. Demonstrations have been going on in Calcutta by the teachers, by the refugees and by all who are groaning under the torture of the present Government.

I will conclude by saying a few words about External Affairs. The other day, my friend Shri Pattabira-man,—whom I do not see here—vomited venom— Upon the All-India Peace Council of Which revered Dr. Kitchlew is the President, and dubbed it as the show-boy of the Communist Party. It is perhaps known to him that its President Dr. Kitchlew has been a pillar of the Congress not from today or the day before but from 6th of April, 1919. He was the very first man who was arrested and whose arrest culminating in the Jallianwala Bagh massacre on the 13th April 1919 became the signal for a nation-wide liberation movement and became the starting point of the celebration of the National Week from year to year and that honoired gentleman who even now belongs to Congress, is respected by Congressmen all the country over and who happens to be the President of the All India Peace Council which has been called by Mr. Pattabiraman as the show -boy Of the Communist Party, thereby indirectly in a more subtle manner insinuating that he was also a show-boy of that party. What is his fault? He has been the President of the All India Peace Council

and what has the All India Peace-Council been doing? It has been propagating peace, peace which we all want, peace which every single Member of this House wants, peace which the Government of Nehru and Nehru himself so devoutly want. Sir, the Peace Council of India' is not the property of the Communist Party. Its direction is not the monopoly of the Communist Party. It belongs to the peace loving people of India. The political parties that count are in it. I belong to the All India Secretariat of the Peace Council and I don't belong to the Communist Party of India. There are others like myself in it. Simply because a good thing ' is done by a Party, should we keep aloof from it or boycott it? I don't subscribe to that view. If the Congress co-operates with this All India Peace Council, its doors are wide open to them and- the Peace Council will embrace them with all the warmth at their command. Therefore it was uncalled for, it was unjustified to bring in the All India Peace Council directly and its revered President subtly in this connection. What is it that he as the President of the All India Peace Council has done? He simply propagated from one end of the country to the other the idea of peace, and the International Stalin Peace Prize Committee, which is not a Committee consisting of members only from the Soviet Union but a Committee 'consisting' of members from England, from France, from Italy, and from China, after duly considering the present world position and the part that India-can play in winning and maintaining peace, awarded that peace prize to Dr. S. Kitchlew who has been the main-architect in building ' Up the peace movement in India. It must be remembered at the same time that the very moment he received the cash prize of Rs. 1,25,000, that nobleman declared: "I give this entire sum to the All India Peace Council for the propagation of the ideas of peace." There have been many recipients of international prizes. I don't know whether any of them has given away that sum to a public cause. I know of only one— Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who gave away the amount that he got as Nobel Prize winner to Viswabharati, Shanti-

niketan. Dr. Kitchlew has done the same thing. I will also remind Mr. Pattabiraman that a few days back when the citizens of Delhi accorded him a reception, the Prime Minister of India, the President of the Indian Republic sent messages felicitating Dr. Kitchlew. Therefore it is not the propaganda of the Communist Party. It is the movement of the whole people of India for the cause of peace under the auspices of the All India Peace Council for which he was honoured by the International Stalin Peace Prize Committee.

Mr. Chairman, I think my time is up. I would say only one word more. I see Mrs. Menon before me and that tempts me to say one thing—a question which still remains unanswered, I mean the recognition of West Germany by the Government of India and the absence of recognition of East Germany by the Government of India. Why is this preferential treatment to West Germany and discriminatory treatment to East Germany. I hope and trust that Mrs. Menon will vouchsafe an answer to this question.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh) : Favoured nation theory, Sir.

SHRI S. BANERJEE: Say that, I want that answer. You favour West Germany, which is the henchman of Anglo-American Imperialism and not East Germany which is building up socialism.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: We favour you but not your satellites.

SHRI S. BANERJEE: Who are the satellites and who are not, Mr. Sak-sena? I forgot to say, Sir, one thing about labour. On page 116 of the Summary of the Plan, the Commission says this. The Commission must be given the credit for saying very sweet words but sweet words written on paper only to be broken to the heart. They say: —

"Labour problems should be approached from two angles; the welfare of the working class and the country's economic stability and progress. The basic needs of the worker for food, clothing and shelter must be satisfied. **He should also enjoy**

improved health services, wider provision of social security, better educational opportunities and increased recreational and cultural facilities."

What do we find instead? They are thrown out in the streets to beg for their food and their families are brought on the verge of starvation, destitution and ruin. They then say:—

"The employer-employee relationship is essentially a partnership to promote the community's economic needs. The dignity and role of the worker in such an endeavour must receive due recognition. Industrial relations must therefore be so developed as to enable the workers to take a greater share in the working of the industry."

If it is the intention of the Commission to see that the labour gets a proper share in the working of the industry, I would ask the Planning Commission to use their good offices with the Labour Minister and ask him to draft the Labour Bill which will be introduced very shortly, if not in this Session at least at the next, and to fashion that Bill in such a way as to make provision for these things, a part or share in the control and management of the industry. Sir, if they mean business let them do something which will help us in coming to the belief that the Government of India really do want to come by the side of labour and not by the side of the capitalists as at present. Otherwise the nemesis will come. Mr. Chairman, I have done.

PROF. G. RANGA (Madras): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have listened with great interest and respect also to the speech delivered by my hon. friend from Bengal. I have very great respect for him especially for the sacrifices he has made in the cause of our national freedom. But I am sorry I am **not** able to agree with the sweeping generalized conclusions that he has reached. Having said that, I would **tell** the House that

[Prof. G. Ranga.] **we** have reached the stage when we have granted the money to the Government and Parliament has got to see that the money is going to be utilized properly. There are various directions in which as my hon. friend had suggested just now we can expect the Government to spend more and more money and try to relieve the distress of our people in the different walks of life but for the time being we are content with granting only this much of money and we are anxious to get the best possible result from the expenditure of this money. It is from this stand point that I wish to examine the behaviour not of the Ministry so much as of the Administration, in the past and see whether we can with confidence go ahead expecting the best possible results from this expenditure. I do not wish to exonerate the Ministry. I want to take the Ministry and the whole of this Parliament as one body interested in seeing that the Administration is carried on most efficiently, honestly and most satisfactorily, and that we get the best possible results **from** the Administration. As our Prime Minister has told Parliament in the past—and he has repeated it on many occasions—the Administration today is a much more complex machinery than it used to be some decades past; and therefore it needs not only expert control at the top but also expert understanding of its own mechanism. Therefore, for that reason, it becomes more and more necessary that Parliament as a whole, that is to say the Opposition as well as the Ministry and the benches behind them all taken together should take it up seriously and discharge their responsibilities in controlling the Administration and devise ways and means by which the Administration can come to be satisfactorily and effectively controlled.

Looked at from this point of view, some of the departures that the Government have come to make within the last one year, do not seem to be well-advised, and to quote one of them, their decision not to continue

the earlier advisory committees is most unfortunate. I happen to have had considerable experience of the working of these advisory committees in years past by working on a number of them, from the External Affairs Committee to the Standing Finance Committee, from the Standing Finance Committee to the Estimates Committee, and I can bear testimony to the fact that these committees used to serve a very useful function indeed, in serving to help the Parliament to control the Administration, in probing to some extent, into the various ways in which the Ministry, and the Administration were working either satisfactorily or unsatisfactorily, and indeed come to the rescue of the Ministry on more than one occasion, to help them to learn where the Administration was going wrong, or failing to give satisfaction and where it could possibly be bettered, improved and reorganised. It is indeed a great pity that these committees have come to a stop and I would like Government to reconsider their decision. It is wrong for a Government or for the Party that merely because they took one decision sometime ago, they should not revise it in the light of what has happened during the last one year. There is enough reason now for reconstituting and reinstituting these committees, because even during the last one year, a number of failures of the Administration—what have come to be known as scandals—have come to light, and many more scandals there might possibly be going on and yet are not unearthed. The Ministers themselves have admitted in a sort of plaintive fashion in that as well as in this House, that after all, in a huge administration like this, especially in the multi-purpose projects, mistakes are bound to be committed, that blunders are bound to be committed and in spite of all that we have to go ahead and progress. Therefore I say, in these circumstances it is only reasonable to expect the Government to reconsider their decision in this respect. Sir, each one of the Members of this House as well as of the other House, has a duty not only to his own constituency in that particular area,

but to the people of the whole country, and he has a duty also towards the Ministry just as the Ministry has a 'duty towards every one of the Members. Let us not think in terms of the Opposition or the Ministry. Let us think of ourselves as a whole, as one House interested in safeguarding the interests of the public as a whole, in seeing that sixteen annas, if not thirty two annas, return is given to the people for every one rupee that we get from them, that we collect from the people and place at the disposal of ■Government. It is a well known fact that there exists a feeling all over the world, that the man who pays a rupee by way of tax gets very much less than a rupee by way of return not only to him, not necessarily to himself, but to the country as a whole. This has become a truism in democracies. Now, if we are to get over this truism, if we are to belie it as we ought to, we should certainly take care to see that every Member of the House is strengthened, first of all by powers and privileges, next by information, by instruction, by advice and by experience and by providing him with these weapons and placing them in the hands of the Members of Parliament, it is the duty of the Ministry to meet them halfway and strengthen them. Sir, it is true when the Opposition comes to know of certain things, when the Opposition comes to know a lot of facts which are within the possession not even of the Ministry, which come to the notice of the Ministry when questions are put here, starred questions, unstarred questions, supple-mentaries and the rest of them, then it becomes possible for the Ministers to take notice of these blunders and then take their own Ministries to task and see that the Administration behaves. At the same time the Ministry sometimes feels this disadvantage that it is not possible to disclose everything, that some of those mistakes they would like to shield, some of the mistakes they would like to soft-pedal and some of the mistakes they would like to excuse, but on the other hand they find the Houses of Parliament are taking a serious view, either rightly or wrongly, and there-

fore are likely to come to wrong judgments by over-valuing the smaller mistakes. Well, there is that difficulty. But nevertheless they must be prepared to take that risk, be prepared to place as much information as possible at the disposal of Members of Parliament. In this connection I would like to refer to the continuous complaints that come from Mr. George here, that whenever questions are put the answers are not given properly. I do not say that they are avoided—I don't think he means it either—but somehow or other the giving of the answer is being delayed so much that when the answers are placed on the Table of the House later on it may not be possible for the Member of Parliament to get possession of it, to get into it and then take a serious view of it and make the best possible use of it. That is one point that the hon. Minister in charge of Parliamentary Affairs, especially the Ministry concerned, as well as the Leader of the House should take note of.

Then we find that Members of Parliament are not given, as is the case in Canada and England for instance, free tickets to go over the whole of India to study the conditions for themselves, with the result that they really are not in a position to know any one of these mighty projects that Government are undertaking and see how they are working. I know the risks underlying any such move. It is quite possible that some Members may abuse this privilege. But in that case we may take the necessary safeguards to see that the possible mischief is minimised and the possible advantage is maximised. If on the other hand a free ticket to roam about the whole of India cannot be given, if on examination such a conclusion were to be reached, then the possibility has to be examined how the Members of this House as well as of the other House can possibly be enabled to visit either in groups or individually, to go to these various projects that are being undertaken by Government, study them and then come back and make a report so that the possible evils that

[Prof. G. Ranga.] might arise from any such visits, either planned or unplanned can be minimised also.

Sir, a number of scandals have come to light recently. But, before these things came to light and therefore came to be stigmatized as scandals, they were brought to notice on several occasions on the floor of this House. We know what sort of answers were given by the Ministers. I do not blame them. Placed as they are, they have got to soften the blow as much as they possibly can but is it not necessary to follow the procedure that is generally followed in England and in Canada? For instance, whenever any particularly serious matter is brought to the notice of the Ministry concerned instead of trying to evade the proper responsibility to the House, to the Opposition, they should hasten to appoint special commissions or committees of enquiry to go into the matter not when it is absolutely necessary and inevitable as it has come to be till now but more readily so that they will get the information. Supposing the information as it is brought out by these enquiry committees or investigating committees or commissions do not justify the complaints made the Members who have made this complaint, those responsible for making these complaints will necessarily take caution from such a report and thereafter will become even more responsible in making their complaints than they have been earlier. Therefore, it is much better to take the risk. I will give you one instance.' In Toronto three prisoners escaped from a jail. The news came up the next morning in the papers and I was surprised to find that the Jail Superintendent—he is called a Governor there—was suspended straight-away and two or three of his subordinates were also suspended pending an enquiry and what sort of an enquiry that was? It was not merely a sort of departmental enquiry; a Royal Commission was appointed immediately on the third day of the escape of the prisoners. Now, that kind of response

can be appreciated by anybody in democracy. I would like that sort of practice to be pursued here more and more often and I am sure the results will certainly be wholesome and will certainly be useful.

Secondly, Sir, so many complaints came to the notice of these Ministers and the Home Minister has been specially charged, specially empowered by a special Act of Parliament to carry on special investigations to maintain an establishment to bring to book a number of these officers who are considered according to their knowledge corrupt or indulging in corrupt practices and when we ask them what sort of action they have taken to bring the people found to be guilty to book, how many were prosecuted and how many came to be cashiered and then punished by the courts of law and so on, the results are very disappointing. We are seeing from day to day proceedings in various places going on against some of these officers. I am not concerned about the merits of things but I am only concerned about the manner in which this administration is able to get hold of the officers. I take one lesson from it and that it is very difficult to catch hold of these officers. They cover their traces very carefully so much so that I can very well sympathise with the Home Department in its failure to bring as many officers, as many of them as are bad, as are corrupt, to book.

SHBI M. P. N. SINHA (Bihar): They have friends.

PROF. G. RANGA: Now, in order to get over the difficulty I have been thinking of ways and means for sometime and I have been consulting friends. One of them appears to be a rather useful thing and one of the greatest leaders of this country who earned a great name in India as an able administrator, when he was alive, once said that the best possible thing or the easiest possible thing that we can do as soon as we come to know anything seriously wrong about any

particular officer is first of all to suspend the man. It is no good going for the smaller fry; catch hold of the topmost and concerned, suspend him straightaway for six months or one year or whatever it is. That itself will frighten all the rest of them. I have heard in recent talks with some of these officers and others when I had an opportunity of meeting them in semi-public functions how the recent investigations have begun to influence these various officers. We need not go even to the extent of an investigation like any of these things that we are witnessing. Long before that, if the Minister concerned were to take courage in both his hands and not being afraid of the other Ministers and their softness towards their own Secretaries or Deputy Secretaries and the harems behind them, political, if they were to do it, catch hold of these people and suspend them straightaway; it will be better. They have now to get the consent of the concerned Minister. I am sure things would begin to look better, brighter. I have only thrown one suggestion and I do not wish to go into greater details in regard to them.

Then, I come to the question of Defence. We are spending as everyone is aware, nearly half of our revenues on our Defence Forces and all this has been placed in charge of one Minister. Is it not strange that for the utilisation of the rest of the revenues there are all these many Ministers but when it comes to the expenditure and management of half of our revenues you have only one Minister and today it is not even one Minister, it is 1/3 of a person of a Minister and then two Junior Ministers. . ,

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR FINANCE
(SHRI M. C. SHAH): Three.

PROF. G. RANGA: Three means one and half the, other one and a half.

■ KHWAJA INAIT ULLA: Tyagi sahib is not a Junior Minister.

PROF. G. RANGA: I only put this simple question. Is it a sensible arrangement? Is it an economical, is it a businesslike one? It is not—my answer is that and I am sure if my hon. friends of the Treasury Benches were to consult their own experience of administration they would be inclined to agree with me. Here is a field where there is scope for further thought for further re-examination of the machinery of this Government and I hope the Government will give its best possible consideration to this at the earliest possible moment and give very good response indeed not only to me or not only to this House-but to the country as a whole.

Then, there is the question of the purchases that are being effected by the Defence Ministry. While I was abroad I had the privilege of talking to a number of friends, both non-Indian as well as Indian and I attach greater importance to what has been suggested by some of our own friends, our own Indian friends and I was told, Sir, that there is a problem before our Purchase Missions, our Defence Ministry here and before our own Government as to what they should do between two alternatives: whether it would be better for them to go in for the latest machinery that is being developed in other countries and discard that we have had till now or to go on rehabilitating the machinery that we have and go on spending more and more money. Sometimes, I am told it comes to between Rs. 10 and 20 crores every year for purchase of spare parts to keep the whole thing going in a going condition. Now, they are not able to take a decision. On the other hand, what we are trying to do is to pursue a policy of rehabilitating, of repairing the existing machinery. I asked them why? Right came the answer and it was not a bad answer either. If we are to destroy and throw away all the existing machinery on to the scrap heap or to sell them as second hand material we will not be able to realise much. I think we will be losing Rs. 100 or Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 crores worth of stuff. It is good

[Prof. G. Ranga.] enough, it is not bad; that is how they put it and what is more, considering the forces that we are up against in regard to defence, it may be desirable. That is how they put it, Sir, but, at the same time they did admit that it is a bad policy to pursue because we really do not come to be in possession of the latest machines, that is one; secondly, if the other forces that are now ranged all round us were to come to outpace us and then possess latest machines to a greater extent the comparative advantage would be in their favour and against us. Therefore, a decision has got to be reached, the sooner the better, at the highest possible levels by the Government in consultation with experts who, as far as possible, I hope, will not merely be the Anglo-Americans who may be interested possibly in seeing today that our machines and all these things are not of the best and also that our expenditure in other countries goes on in the same old level. In consultation with these experts that decision should be reached by the Government at the highest level, as I have said, as between these two alternatives so that it would be possible for us to say to ourselves that we also are in possession and are coming to be in possession of as much of the latest machinery as possible, while at the same time we minimise the losses that we may have to incur in discarding as much of the useless machinery or the over-aged machines as we possibly can dispose of.

Then there is the other question that was raised by one of the Members of the other House. We have to take a decision between the big machines and the small machines; weapons I think they call it. Nowadays it is being felt that the smaller weapons may be more effective, being in the hands of larger numbers of people, larger numbers of groups of people than these big machines. There may be some scope for economy also in this direction. The experience of China was quoted and it was being discussed very seriously, I am very glad to say, by some of our

important influential journals in Delhi. I would like Government to give serious consideration to this matter also.

Then, Sir, we have got to explore every possible avenue for economising on these defence forces and one of the promising avenues seems to be not necessarily to reduce the strength of the organised army that we have today, but to go on increasing the number of people in the Territorials and also in the Cadet Corps. The response, it has been said from that end, is not very unsatisfactory, but is it satisfactory? It ought to be enthusiastic; it ought to be overenthusiastic. Why is it that there is no enthusiasm? Why is it that we are not able to achieve the targets that we had placed before ourselves much earlier than the time that we had fixed ourselves. I would like an enquiry to be made in this direction and the possible ways and means to be explored in order to encourage and inspire our young people in the universities as well as outside to join these *two* cadres which will buttress our national armies so that it would be possible for us to have a much bigger field, a much broader field for exploitation of the national defences of our country without our having to spend so much money, so much more money than we would have if we are to be assured of such an increasing and growing strength of our national defences.

Then, Sir, coming to the question of the Production Ministry, I am sorry to have to say that we have not been given any encouraging report on the activities of this Ministry. Again and again the House has had to complain about the delay that is being caused in starting that much promised or long promised iron and steel factory. Our friends from Orissa have been too anxious to have it for themselves. The time has not yet come for us all to have factories in different States, and to go on competing among ourselves. We should like to have five factories with a capacity of 500,000 tons each, and India's capacity to consume all that iron and steel is still there and it

is growing every day and it ought to be helped to grow. And yet there is so much of delay. Commission after Commission has enquired into it. I need not go into all those things which are within the knowledge of this House, to urge again the impatience of the country as a whole. Let them try to give satisfaction and see to it that this impatience is satisfied and the people are assured that, before any calamity arises either in this country or throughout the world, India becomes self-sufficient, at least in this basic industry.

Then, we were very glad and indeed we were proud in abolishing salt tax. We gave up its proceeds not because we were not in need of money, of course, we need money badly, but we gave it up and we naturally expected that Government will take measures to see that the cost of salt goes down

and salt is made freely avail-10
A.M. able all over the country, that

is, more easily available all over the country. They took many years; it was even when Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee was in charge of it and later on his successors, in order to relax some of their own outworn systems of controls, zonal controls and the like. Even today complaints come from producers of salt in Orissa and Andhra that so many obstacles are being placed in their way, that even the salt fields that they had developed had to be given up and could not be exploited, that salt could not be garnered and could not be marketed because of various restrictions that are being placed in their way. I should like this also to be very carefully examined. I think we are not, I am speaking subject to correction, importing so much now. We do not wish to import; we wanted to become self-sufficient; we wanted to increase the *per capita* consumption of salt in this country, but nothing has been done. How long can we go on repeating these things?

. Then, I take up, Sir, this growing expenditure under the Ministry of

States. It started with a few lakhs of rupees and now it has gone up to nearly 1½ crores of rupees. I should like to have information—not just at present if it is not convenient for the Government to provide now—but on a suitable occasion. What is it they are trying to do with all this money? In those earlier days there used to be what was known as a Political Department with its own Political Agents in all these various States, but today the Ministry of States is supposed to be having functions which are shrinking functions towards the Rulers of these States and in course of time the Ministry of States is expected to be liquidated. Even now from State to State, Agents are also being removed and Hyderabad is the latest one. When these people are being removed gradually, what is it that the Ministry of States is supposed to be doing in these various States—Part B and Part C States with all this money. I should like to know whether they are spending it in order to maintain a sort of secret police or whether they are spending it in order to maintain the old glory, the palatial homes which were maintained by the old Political Agents. We do not know; anything can be conjectured but I would not like to go into all that.

Sir, then there is this notorious—anyhow well known—bad administration of the Central Public Works Department. When the British were here it was a by-word for corruption and for inefficiency—for Nawab's way of doing things. Now what is its position? I know of only one thing. There used to be a Chief Engineer who was given a number of extensions. Later on they said to themselves: Why repeat this *mantram*? After all it became a *mantram*. This was going on and I came to know of it. I gave notice of a question. But between the answering of my question and my giving notice of the question—I cannot vouchsafe in regard to the date—the *mantram*, was regularised. The man was there. And it was said he was not a very honest man. I do not know. I took into my confidence one or two of these people

[Prof. G. Ranga.] on the Treasury Bench. The Treasury Bench has developed a peculiar notion. The moment a gentleman gets into the Treasury Bench, he becomes very responsible-minded. He feels he alone knows everything. He forgets what he has been thinking about these things the previous day. He thinks that all his valued colleagues are inclined to swallow every rumour that comes about without sifting it properly. And this is how I was looked upon by that gentleman of the Treasury Bench. I have given you, Sir, this instance. I will now take **you** to the other point.

Crores of rupees are beng placed at
 ■♦he disposal of the Central Public Works Department and it administers this money in various ways. Firstly it utilises the State Governments as its agencies and when anything goes wrong with the State Governments and they do not satisfy these people and the Public Accounts Committee, we take the Central Public Works Department to task and they simply say they are our agencies; what can we do; they do not give us satisfactory answers and so on. Therefore, we suggested in the Public Accounts Committee that the Central Public Works Department—these long names! —should have its own agencies there. Some States agreed; some States did not agree. I suggested that the Central Public Works Department should have its own agencies in every State, and that there should not be a single State where it did not have an agency, and, secondly, that it should get the work carried out directly by itself, but if the State Government was prepared to do it, they must devise some means by which it would be possible for them to get satisfactory answers also from the State Government. That is
 ■ one point.

The second thing is to call in the • co-operation of the contractors. The Department has a very convenient way. They break up the various contracts into various heads up to a particular limit of expenditure. Supposing

they have got a work of Rs. 50 lakhs, they break it up into 100 separate heads. They are all geniuses in these matters. Then they need not ask for tenders; they can distribute all these spoils as they like. That is one method. The second method is this. They call for tenders. They are expected to accept the lowest tender. But they get round it by saying, "We do not have sufficient confidence in this man; we do not expect him to be able to discharge his work either satisfactorily, or within time ; or . to invest the necessary amounts of money in this work. Therefore we use our discretion and accept the higher tender." And whose tender is it? Various things that happen there can only be discovered by those people who are in the Central Public Works Department; not even the Minister, not even the Deputy Minister, will know them, I was assured on that point. They know these things only among themselves. There is an *esprit de corps* among them—a greater *esprit de corps* among the Central Public Works Department officials than there used to be among the I.C.S. officers in the ancient days, or even among the priests. If some priests chanted *mantrams* partially, the others would never tell you whether they were complete or. not. They used to say "*Mantram* is given. We are satisfied. We give our blessings." The same thing is going on in the Central Public Works Department.

PRINCIPAL DEVAPRASAD GHOSH (West Bengal): There is a code of honour even among thieves.

PROF. G. RANGA: Then there is a third thing. They execute works directly by themselves. They tell us when they come before committees that in direct administration there is less scope for corruption than in execution through contractors. Whether this is true or whether the opposite is true, we do not know. Unless we devise some Parliamentary means by which we can control the Central Public Works Department in all its vagaries and in all its ways, we shall not be quite sure that out of the Rs. 50 or Rs. 60 crores of rupees that

we would be spending every year either on repairs or on new constructions from out of the Central revenues, we shall be getting proper satisfaction for our money.

Then, I come to the question of grants-in-aid to the States. Large amounts of money are being placed at the disposal of States. Here it is Rs. 12 crores. In addition to that, there is the Central Road Fund and there are several other funds through which money is placed at the disposal of the States. How this money is distributed as between State and State; how, when some States fail to make use of the money, the outstanding amounts are re-allocated as between State and State; how when on the assurance of the Central Government or in the hope of getting some grant a State Government takes up a particular scheme and goes ahead and afterwards comes to be disappointed, the matter is settled; all these are mysteries which have got to be unravelled.

More than anything else, the Finance Commission, I think, has touched the main point in this, that the relations between the Centre and the States should be placed on a stable basis so that the State Governments need not all the time **be at the mercy** of the ways and means position of the Central Government or of the psychology or the mental make-up for the time being of the Finance Ministry or the Finance Minister. There is considerable force in this and I am in wholehearted agreement with it. In order to get over that particular difficulty, I would like to suggest—and I think it has been suggested already by others too—that once a year there should be a conference of Finance Ministers. We should have that mechanism. We should have a Finance Secretaries' conference also every year. They should discuss this matter and evaluate the relative needs as between one State and another, and as between one work and another. It should *not* happen that a State like Assam, which is far away from the centre of gravity of power here, is not

able to get as much consideration as it deserves, or that some other State does not get attention because it does not have powerful Ministers in the Centre, and so on. If we want to see that the State Government really become independent, instead of having to depend upon Central resources for augmenting their own financial resources, then, some means should be found. I cannot be expected here and now to suggest all the means, but it has got to be studied, to some extent the Finance Commission has helped us. But that is not enough. In addition to these sums that are being allocated to the States, it is still left to the discretion of the Central Ministry to distribute huge sums of money to different States. I know with regard to the Central Road Fund there is a committee. Similarly with regard to other funds out of which money is distributed to States there ought to be committees consisting of representatives of State Governments as well as of the Centre, and the Centre should only be a sort of an umpire and, in addition to that, an evaluating force to see that these moneys are being allocated to the right States for right purposes, and it should not itself become the Great Mogul. At present my fear is that it plays the role of the Great Mogul as between State and State.

The Food and Agriculture Ministry is also spending much money. Every one knows how it spends crores and crores upon the import of food. In addition to that, it is spending so much money at its discretion. Who is to fetter the use of this discretion? This has got to be studied as an administrative problem. In the past- we had advisory committees.

Then there is the Income-tax Department. I am told by responsible people who have had experience of the way in which income-tax officers have been working, that several of them over-assess the liability of a number of income-tax assesseees, and then they ask them to prove why it should not be so. This is a most extraordinary

[Prof. G. Ranga.]

procedure. Maybe, it is unavoidable in some cases, but that does not mean it should become a practice. If you look into the report of the Income-tax Department, you will find staggering figures of collections which are outstanding. Why? Because—I speak subject to correction—in far too many cases these officers in their vagaries over-assess them. This is a practice which ought to be prevented. This is a practice which ought to be discouraged.

(MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.)

Then, Sir, they have tribunals. These tribunals are appointed only for a temporary period of three or four years. The tribunals are at the mercy of the Income-tax Commissioners; they are obliged to be of good behaviour *vis-a-vis* the Income-tax Commissioners in the States. The assessee cannot expect fair and impartial judgment from them. Therefore, I suggest that there should be permanent tribunals. If you cannot have permanent tribunals, have semi-permanent tribunals; that is to say, appoint them for seven or eight or nine years, so that they can look forward to a long tenure of office, and they need not have any weakness *vis-a-vis* the Income-tax Commissioners.

Sir, there is one point more and that is in regard to the Investigation Commission, I was told that the predecessor of my hon. friend, Mahavir Tyagi, achieved some great success in going about infusing confidence in some of those people who fought shy of the income-tax officers and who played some mischief also during the war by withdrawing their resources from the knowledge of these people and encouraged them to go and make their confessions before this Investigation Commission, and in that way brought their resources again into the daylight. "Well, I might congratulate him to the extent that he has achieved success, but at the same time, I have come to know that there were cases

where, when confessions were made under this encouragement, the officers turned round and said: "These are confessions which are not voluntary, which are not genuine and which are not to be relied upon; therefore a further investigation has got to be made." What was the result of all this? This resulted in a great loss to the State. Therefore, what I would like to suggest is, that we must develop a steady line of policy in regard to this matter.

Lastly, Sir, there is a department known as the Department of Parliamentary Affairs. I am very glad it is there. But I want it to be more active than what it is today. It is already circulating amongst us, from time to time, reports as to the action taken by the Ministry with regard to the suggestions made either at the Question time or on other occasions. I do not know how many Members have had the time or the interest to study these reports. They are well-worth studying. But I want these reports to be more detailed than what they are today. Many Members have been complaining here in the House and in the lobbies also whether our speeches are having any effect at all on the Treasury Benches, as it so happened that one or two Ministers are alone there and possibly they are not interested in all this roving survey that we go and make in different parts of the country and also we do not know whether they make any notes or whether they take the trouble to pass on these notes to their colleagues. Nobody knows whether they make detailed notes or not; we see many of their officers sitting in their own lobby but we do not know whether they are only enjoying from the galleries the debate that we are having here or they are really doing something to help their colleagues. All this is a mystery. This House as well as the other House should have the satisfaction, Sir, that every point that is being made in this House or the other House, every complaint that is being made, every suggestion that is being made or offered, is taken note of by the Government and action is taken in that regard, and

a short, pithy and satisfactory reply is sent to the Member concerned as well as it is included in the report of the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs. I would like the Treasury Benches, Sir, to consider every one of the Members as an ally of itself, because all of us are interested in seeing to it that the administration is controlled and checked. Every Short Notice Question, every Starred Question, every Unstarred Question, is an additional weapon being placed in the hands of the Minister without demanding any sort of a ministerial pay for any one of us, with which it is possible for them to probe into their own administration. Otherwise complex as it is, the present administration will defy scrutiny, management and control even by the ablest of our Ministers.

Lastly, Sir, I wish the Government will develop more of a Parliamentary mind. I do not wish to say that they do not have it. But I would like them to develop more of a Parliamentary mind and look upon every one of us as an ally and then utilise us, and what is more, stimulate us also and sting us sometimes into more activity than what we are able to display today over here or in our constituencies. I felt it very much when *one* of our Members was obliged to say that he himself wanted to hold a meeting—it does not matter to which political party he belongs—but the local Magistrate was not prepared to give him the necessary permission. If he was not prepared to give permission, the least that the local Magistrate could possibly have done was to approach the Member concerned or send for him and then give him personal explanation and explain everything possible and then encourage him not to go and hold any such meeting in defiance of the law. The local Magistrate should have cooperated with him so that the local grievances could have been removed.

Sir, in my concluding remarks, I wish to give a piece of advice to myself as well as to my own colleagues in this House. As long as we continue to be Members of Parliament until 24 C.S.D.

and unless an occasion arises which touches the softest portion—the very core—of our conscience, we ought not to defy the law. If we are to defy the law, we should be prepared to give sufficient notice to the Government or their agents down-below and at the same time to the concerned Minister and at least to the Home Minister, that we do propose to defy the law because we feel so strongly in regard to this matter, and if he is not going to give any satisfactory answer during that period of notice, then we would be obliged to defy the law. After all, it is our own Government and if we do not give that opportunity, if on the other hand, we begin to defy the law, taking advantage of the fact that we not only happen to be Members of Parliament, but also prominent people, what is likely to happen is that we shall bring our own Parliament into contempt

SHRI BARKATULLAH KHAN (Rajasthan): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Prof. Ranga wants to know why States Ministry's expenditure is increasing year after year. I will tell him. I come unfortunately from the Part B State (Rajasthan) and I know that the States Ministry is increasing the sphere of its activity at least in respect of my State *i.e.* Rajasthan. When Article 371 was introduced, I know that in the lobby there was a lot of criticism. The people from States were very much against that Article and they were quite opposed to it. But we found that this was imposed upon us and in spite of our opposition when it was imposed upon us, we had the assurance that the control of the States Ministry over Part B States was only going to be nominal and as far as possible, the States Ministry would not interfere with the administration of the States. But actually in my State the States Ministry, particularly controlled the entire administration. In* my State the States Ministry played a role which was hardly dignified or desirable, inasmuch as the States Ministry introduced diarchy from the back door. It gave all the responsibilities to the Ministers and all the powers were concentrated in the

[Shri Barkatullah Khan.]

knows what these experts who were sent by the hands of the senior civilian officers from the States Ministry were doing. It is not States Ministry, so much so that according to known whether the Public Service Commission the old Rules of Business, the Government was asked to fix their position in the Provincial forced to accept the views of the Secretary and List or it was merely there to find out whether in case there was any difference of opinion they were fit enough to be put on the between the Secretary and the Minister, the Provincial List or not. Not only this, Sir, things whole matter was referred to the Cabinet and if are being done in a manner which showed that the Cabinet came to one decision and the bureaucratic outlook was pervading the Advisor took a different decision, the entire entire machinery of Government. It is not that the Cabinet decision had no value and the entire local Government does not resist it but the matter had to be referred to the States Ministry. States Ministry has the power to force its So somehow or other, the States Ministry went decision down their throats and they have got to on increasing its power so much so that the accept it. I will give you an example. Chief Secretary, the Home Secretary, the Just after the General Elections it was paraded Finance Secretary and the I. G., they were all the that so far as the States Ministry was concerned it nominees of the States Ministry. They were had nothing to do with the States' internal set up appointed by the States Ministry as such and and that as far as possible their advisers or they felt that they were more or less res- j councillors will not be interfered with in possible only to the States Ministry. And not the day to day administration and that the old only that, but when these gentlemen came law and the old business rules would be there, they increased that provincial feeling, eliminated. Just after the Elections I have They came from different provinces and definite knowledge that the Minister of they always tried to have their people from their States wrote a letter to the Chief Minister, own provinces. I will, in this connection, Rajasthan, that when there is a difference give you a few examples. When some of opinion between the Chief Minister and his gentleman came from Bengal, he tried to bring councillor, asking him to refer the matter to all the departmental officers from Bengal. And the States Minister. What is this, Sir? On the when he went away, that group of Bengali one hand you say that you do not want to gentlemen also went away with him. After interfere in the affairs of Part B States and on that some gentleman from U. P. came and he the other you write a letter to the Chief Minister also brought all the officers from U. P. Some and tell him in very mild words—for the of them who retired on Rs. 250 were employed meaning is the same—that you do not want to in Rajasthan on Rs. 650. Some of the gentlemen change the councillors. This is nothing but who were just inspectors in U. P. were brought keeping the hold on the State so much so that into Rajasthan and appointed to superior I most of the States are getting sick and tired of post as superintendents. I am just telling these councillors and in some States there are you, Sir, that by this the provincial feeling no councillors. My State only has the singular increases. The claims of the local officers distinction of having a councillor who is an were ignored so much so that the local people official of the States Ministry. We were told that have the States Ministry will see to it that after the arted feeling that under this regime ey cannot Elections when we had responsible Governments hope to get these things remedied. Then, Sir, a in the States, the advisers will be chosen from Public Service Commission was appointed and among the public men and not from those who was asked to go into the appointment of the are on the regular pay of the Government. But Provincial Service. They called for the officers till today we find that the States Ministry has im- and they were interviewed by them but till today nobody

posed a gentleman who is an officer of the States Ministry. Why is this so? It is time that the Ministry should take into confidence the people of Part B States also and not repeat the old argument that the people are not for democracy or that the people are not fit to rule themselves. We have heard it for a long time. We have heard it during the pre-independence days; it cannot hold good after Independence. Besides it is not good politics to have these two types of democracies, namely first-class and second-class. You cannot have one type of administration for Part A States and another kind of administration for Part B States. If India is a Federal Republic—and it is Federal—then one Province should have as much provincial autonomy as any other province. If you do not remove the disparity between Part A States and Part B States in this regard and if you adopt two types of administration for the two types of States, all I can say is that the people will find a way out of it. Today most of the Part B States people have started feeling that the Ministries as such are ineffective and they are incapable of delivering the goods. They have a definite feeling that if they want to do anything they have got to approach the States Ministry first to get their consent. In fact, Sir, in my State we had to get through a Bill—but it required the concurrence of the States Ministry before it could be made into law. I refer to the case of the Panchayat Act which was submitted to the States Ministry. It remained with the States Ministry for six months and no action was taken within this period. After this period the Minister of my State received a letter from the States Ministry telling him that the power which he was giving to the Panchayats to pass a sentence of imprisonment for six months was not good and that the clause relating to this should be relaxed though there was no such clause in it. This is how the State Ministry's experts posted to guide the State have been helping us. My point really is this. If you really want to establish democratic governments in the different States, then have them on a proper

level. What is all this show of democracy? You say on the one hand that we are democratic. But on the other hand you put somebody to sit over our heads, men who cannot do the things at least in the manner in which popular representatives would do. They might be experts and they might be efficient people but they are not the people of the State and they cannot feel or think in the same manner in which the popular leaders will think. That is the point which I wanted to impress.

I would now deal with the Defence Department which was touched on by Prof. Ranga. When the Defence Department of India was organised, or rather the Defence Forces were organised on mechanised lines it was felt that India would be in a position to have at least a small army well organised, well armed and well equipped. But after Independence when India had not the required industry to build the armament requirements for India, she had to look for her supply to other countries. It is time that India thought in different terms. We have to think in terms of small arms and more people who are willing to enlist and make sacrifice. I am sure the Defence Ministry would call their experts and think over the matter.

In the end once again I say, Sir, that it is time that the States Ministry should come forward and give Part B States people also a chance to get the advantage out of the so-called democratic Government. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI B. RATH (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman. While discussing the Appropriation Bill the one thing that strikes me is, the money that is spent on this democratic House. Sir, as a result of my experience of the present Session I have come to the conclusion that early steps must be taken to amend the Constitution in such a way that this House is abolished, or at least it is convened at such intervals as may be desired by the Government to save them in case of any emergency. The role of this House is a sort of check on the Lower House. Sir, the present

[Shri B. Rath.]

Session has been marked by a number of adjournments and we find that a huge amount is being spent to keep the members at Delhi and as such unnecessarily burdening the people with additional taxes to keep up the present show. Not only that. The Government has come to such a State that they even do not take the least trouble to have the Rules framed for this House observed properly. We know, Sir, that in the case of Money Bills the scope of discussion by this House is limited and we know also for that reason that the Government sponsors Bills in the other House and brings them before this House to be discussed and sent back without giving this House time to go through those Bills and their main intention is to get the Bill passed either in one hour or 15 minutes or 20 minutes. The callousness of the Government has gone to such an extent that even in cases of Bills which are not certified as Money Bills they simply come before this House and try to see that the Bill is passed within a day. I submit, Sir, this is but natural because the Members of the Government feel that it would be for them a repetition of the same arguments put forward and the same performance that was given by them in the other House. As such they are not very interesting. It is not very much necessary for the Members also to go through the Bill and analyse it because they feel that since the Bills are going to be passed within a very short time, it is impossible for them to go into their merits or demerits. As such they just speak a little on anything and thus satisfy themselves that they have done their duty. Under the circumstances I submit that a serious attempt must be made to see that the Appropriation Bill is revised in such a way as will reduce the expenditure incurred in this Council of States and I strongly feel it.

It brings me not only to the Government's attitude towards the legislators but also the Government's attitude towards the people. Their attitude has

been expressed in the Planning Commission's report which is, though a pious declaration, not intended to be put into practice. We find that the Minister for Planning who has to carry through the recommendations of the Commission is also responsible for the multi-purpose river valley projects. We find that during this Session something very interesting has happened. A report has been submitted about the activities of a River Valley Projects. With regard to the project that concerns my State, because the P. A. C. was going into the affairs of this project and they submitted a report. The Minister for Planning has tried to sabotage that report and the recommendations of that Committee by bringing out a glossy piece of document, which is not only glossy so far as the paper goes, but also glossy in its contents. It has tried, in the name of morale, to be lenient towards the officers who were responsible for not only expenditure that was unwarranted but also for expenditure which cannot be supported by anybody. The Minister wants that the morale of the officers engaged in this huge scheme should be saved and that they should not be criticised. I submit that the attitude of the Planning Minister is also expressed in the attitude of the Deputy Minister for Finance while he was replying to the gold smuggling business. The same attitude is also there in the attitude and pronouncements of the other Ministers in this as well as in the other House. The Minister for Planning gave a long sermon in the other House to save the morale of the officers and I want to ask him and because he is not here, therefore, the Leader whether the morale of the people and whether the money of the people are going to be saved in the hands of this Government or not.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No.'

SHRI B. RATH: If that is not going; to be saved, then I am opposed to this Government because they are here to swindle and collect tax to keep this up. I bring to the notice of the House a few facts that have not found place and can never find place in any of the

reports of the P. A. C. about Hirakud. The Advisory Committee in June 1948 submitted its report and recommended that the staff engaged in this scheme should be given special concessions in the shape of construction allowance, rent-free quarters etc., in view of the arduous nature of the work. Agreed. I want to know who are the persons who are engaged in this Hirakud dam and for that matter in all the multipurpose river valley projects. It was not Hirakud alone. There are others like Bhakra, Nangal, and DVC also. We know in Hirakud there is a small percentage of officers ruling and enjoying these benefits. Not only these, but much more. Ponds are constructed within the premises of their bungalows so that they can rear fish there. Again duck ponds are dug in the bungalow premises to satisfy the whims of these officers. But what about the labourers who are over 30 or 40 thousand who are working there and who are carrying the earthen load, who are also helping in the excavations? Have you constructed a small shed even for them? No. There are a few houses where few people have been kept but about others about 20 to 30 thousand people have no shelters. If some of them can construct some wretched hovel, they can stay there otherwise they live under the trees. Has our Minister for Planning when he visited Hirakud and stayed for 14 days there, tried to see the condition of these workers? Did he give some consolation to them? He did not because they are the people for whom the Planning is not meant. They are the people whom the Planning Minister does not want to consider as human beings. He considers the Chief Engineer, the Superintending Engineer or the Executive Engineers of a particular category as the persons whose morale will be affected if undue criticism is made but as regards the 20 or 30 thousand people who are there, no provision for even illness has been made. They were not supplied with drinking water and only last year one or two wells were dug for supplying drinking -water. Not only that. Thanks to the Minister's visit; the workers in the Workshop were provided with glass

tumblers during working hours for drinking water. Before that the mug in the lavatory was also used for drinking water. Thanks to the visit of the Minister for Planning, these glass tumblers were given. But they were not there for a long period; when the Minister left, immediately they were removed. On 12th March, 1953 when one of the workers of the workshop protested against this removal of the glass tumblers and demanded that a glass tumbler should be provided, he was immediately ordered to quit the place and with him sixteen others were also thrown out of employment. On the 13th the Executive Engineer ordered them to leave Hirakud and leave their quarters within 24 hours. And his crime was that he demanded that the glass tumblers so kindly provided them during the visit of the Minister for Planning may be replaced at the same place. And because that unfortunate person happens to be the president of the Union that they had formed there, therefore, in *one* stroke they not only dismissed the president of the Union, but also suppressed the workers there and prevented them from voicing their protest against the callous behaviour of the administrators who are there not to see that the dams are constructed, but to rule the people who are under them. Sir, the Public Accounts Committee have reported facts. I am not fully satisfied with their report because they have not tried to go into all aspects of the problem. That is why the Minister for Planning has had the courage to say that the amount of corruption is decreasing. If he had tried to see how many false bills are being drawn by the higher officers by putting the thumb impressions of workers who never worked in that place, then he would have known what a huge amount of money is being wasted. If the Public Accounts Committee had tried to see into all these things and tried to go into their very sources, they would have seen that much of the stores not presumably but actually has been removed and shops have been started at Sambalpur at different places with the stores taken away from Hirakud. Sir, this is the case

[Shri B. Rath.] not only at Hirakud but also at other dam construction sites. I am very glad that at last the Public Accounts Com-mitee have tried to vindicate the Opposition's demand that this corruption must be stopped. They have at last brought to light some of the corruptions that are being practised.

Since I have not got much time at my disposal, I will not try to go into other aspects of these multi-purpose river valley projects. I will take up another sphere of governmental activity—Defence. In this we are spending about 45 per cent, of our revenue. Well, in this Department we find that we spend much of our money—about 38 per cent, of the total Defence Budget—on payments of allowances of officers and the personnel in the Army, Navy and Air Force. Also about 40 per cent, of the total amount allotted under this Head we spend on the Stores Department and in the purchase of stores, maintenance of ordnance stores and other such things. We find that we spend about Rs. 81.41 crores for stores and one of the criticisms made not only by Members of the Opposition but sometimes by Members on the Treasury Benches has been that we spend so much money mostly in purchases from the United Kingdom and a few other countries. This year we are going to spend about Rs. 17.84 crores for the purchase of stores for the Army, Navy and the Air Forces from the United Kingdom itself, of this Rs. 16.495 crores is for the actual purchase of materials and the rest about Rs. 1.4 crores will be spent on the staff of the military officers attached to the High Commissioner's Office and also on the officers who go on deputation to purchase the stores, for training some persons and all that. There are five or six small items on which this balance of Rs. 1.4 crores and odd will be spent. Now here the question arises, what will be our attitude towards the supply of stores to the Army, Navy and Air Forces? We know there are certain materials which are not being manufactured in India and as such Government has

very often been saying that unless we purchase these things from foreign countries we cannot provide our armed forces with the necessary modern weapons. But as regards our stores, and as regards our defence industry, what has been our attitude? We have done nothing in this direction. We find that during the last year the Defence Industry has progressively gone down. During the last year there were demands for retrenchment of staff in Poona and 35,000 defence workers had to go on strike for a period of about 25 days. Because some workers were retrenched, in order to get them back, they had to go on strike. We find that in December 1952 1,900 hands were declared surplus in Ishapore Ordnance Factory and we find that in December 1952 13 were retrenched at Pannagarh Ordnance Factory. In November also at Khamaria and Jubbulpore a number of workers have been retrenched. We find also that in Katni, Dehra Dun and Kanpur there is the threat of retrenchment and meantime, probably, some of the workers have been retrenched. In the Ambala Machine Tool Factory of which so much has been made by our Ministers, about 25 hands were retrenched last January and also in Cossipore Ordnance Factory also there have been retrenchment. Recently there was a news item that in Ishapore some workers have been retrenched. These retrenchments are going on on the one side. On the other, you find stores being purchased from foreign countries and their quantity has been increasing. The workers in our ordnance factories are being found surplus, they say, and they are being retrenched and the factories cannot be worked to the full. But we have seen that in these factories it is possible to produce things to meet the requirements of the defence services but also several other things. For instance in the factories at Kanpur and Shahjahanpur and Ichhapur they can manufacture leather goods. Some of the ordnance factories can also produce goods that are required in the construction of houses. Some others can produce small machines, small

instruments, scientific instruments, even instrument boxes that are so necessary for our students in the educational institutions. So my question is, why not the Defence Department or the Government as such, try to utilise the hands in these factories properly and see that the ordnance factories where valuable machinery has been set up are fully utilised? But Government has no such intention. The intention is to throw out people from these factories and from Government service and thus encourage the private industries also to discharge their hands in the name of surplus hands. Government, I say, stands condemned here because these factories which had been developed are not being worked properly. I submit that this policy of retrenching hands from the Defence industries must go and the defence industry must work full-time not only for the manufacture of all the requirement of the Defence Department but also to supply the necessities of the people, those things which are not being supplied by the private industries and which are, all the same, badly needed by the people. We know in Kanpur shoes can be made and certain types of leather goods are not produced in abundance such as suit-cases and other such things, and Government can take up the production of these in their own factories, these and other articles, and thus make the Kanpur works run full-time.

Now I come to the payment of allowances to the personnel of the Defence Services on which about 38 per cent, of the total amount is being spent. Of this, I find about 25 per cent, in the Army goes for the payment of the officers and in the case of the Navy it is almost 50 per cent, for the officers and the rest for the other personnel. In the Air Force it is also similar but a little higher than the Navy. With regard to the Other Ranks we find that they start with a basic pay of Rs. 20 per month and Government tries to give us the impression that—at least some of the Ministers have tried to give the impression—that besides Rs. 20 the

amenities and the allowances that are given to them come to about Rs. 100. But, do they get that money in cash by way of food, and barber's allowances and washerman's allowances and others? How much does he really save in order to meet the expenses of his family? That is what I am interested in. We know that he does not save much and without seeing that the condition of the other Ranks is improved the morale of the Army cannot be improved. The morale of the Army has been exhibited in the streets of Delhi near Queensway some two or three months ago where some of the Army Officers were involved in—high Army Officers—molesting some women. That is the morale of the Army that our Government thinks of, and does not think to improve the conditions of the other Ranks and thereby help them improve their material condition and through that their morale.

and that, four thousand Havil-dar Clerks who were recruited during the war years are being thrown out of employment. Two alternatives are before them; they are asked either to revert to the rank of Naiks, lower themselves down and accept service or get out. An ingenious scheme was introduced in 1948 in the name of Trade Tests in which they were asked to sit and prove their efficiency after these clerks had worked for three or four or five years and without any adverse comments on their work. I submit it might have been applied to new entrants; but here, the old personnel who are in the Army for years together should not have been required to sit because by their work itself, they have gained experience. I know of many cases, under a new scheme which was introduced in 1948, under which it was said that unless one passed in the test he would not be confirmed. Many protested and many did not sit for the examination. Many sat for the examination and submitted blank papers and some took serious view of the examination, appeared and passed but those who protested were left in Grade IV. I also

[Shri B. Rath.] know of particular cases where after three years those persons were confirmed in Grade IV in 1951. In 1952 letters were issued saying that they were no longer required in that office and, ultimately, this scheme of retrenching four thousand, either downgrading them or sending them out of service, has come. This is the worst part of victimisation in the Defence Services. I submit, Sir, that there is still time to reconsider the decision of the Government and to see that those persons who served your predecessors and also whom you have accepted as having served you also are kept in service after ten or twelve years of service. Their cases must be reopened and re-examined and these four thousand persons who are going to be retrenched must be taken in service. If there is no post vacant in that category for all, then rest must be sent to the Ordnance Factories and given work. They should be treated in such a way that does not affect the morale of the Army and of the other Ranks because otherwise the new recruits will feel that the axe will fall on them. The officers are not affected in the least because they are secure and they have nothing to worry and apart from their activities, the Government encouragement keeps their morale fine. The material condition of the other Ranks must be improved; their housing condition must be improved and also those smaller fries who are going to be retrenched must be taken into service and those entering the Army in India should be assured not only better living but also secure living.

With these, Sir, I have one more thing to point out with regard to the Agricultural Department.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken half an hour.

SHRI B. RATH: Three minutes more and I will finish. I will leave the rest and deal with the Agriculture Department. Sir, we have been given hand

outs by the Agriculture Department, with regard to the Japanese method of paddy cultivation—a new experiment after the previous experiments of different Ministers who were here in the past in the Agriculture Department have failed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Sufficient has already been said about it. Why repeat it?

SHRI B. RATH: I want to say one thing about the Japanese method of cultivation that is going to be experimented. The other day, we had been to Pusa and we were shown a demonstration about the Japanese method of paddy cultivation. One question I asked, there and that too I repeat here, that is, how much it is going to cost if one takes to this Japanese method of paddy cultivation. I have calculated according to available figures and I have found that the cost per acre will vary from Rs. 200 to Rs. 220 in my State. I do not know the labour wages in the other provinces and I cannot say but I have calculated approximately and the approximate cost comes to Rs. 200 or Rs. 220 per acre. The amount of paddy that one will get will be Rs. 250 worth per acre. Let our Agriculture Ministry do a little research about this expenditure and income business in different States and after satisfying that there will be a big margin of profit for the poor agriculturists if they undertake this method, let them come out with propaganda for the Japanese method and not before that.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA (Bombay) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I shall confine myself to the vote on Defence and I shall not digress by commenting on Defence equipment or on the use of the Defence Forces for the socio-economic reconstruction of the country that some of the Members of this House and of the other House put before the Parliament. But I do want to take up the allotment to the Defence Department.

Sir, in the Second Report of the Public Accounts Committee on the Accounts of 1948-49, it is said on page 91: "Although this Memorandum deals primarily with the duties and the methods of the Defence Division of the Ministry of Finance, it has to be remembered throughout that the financial control is a joint responsibility of the administrative and financial authorities and that their functions are complementary and inseparable."

Sir, I was drawn into the study of this subject because we got these booklets—"Appropriation Accounts of the Defence Services for the year 1949-50", "Commercial Appendix to the Appropriation Accounts of the Defence Services" and the "Audit Report" thereon, it was interesting to note that this "Commercial Appendix" and the "Audit Report" thereon was signed on 23rd October 1951 by the Finance Adviser, Ministry of Finance (Defence), and signed by the Minister of Defence on 24th October, 1951. It was printed in 1952 and it was laid on the Table of this House on 9th April 1953. If this is going to be the state of affairs, Sir, how shall we discuss the various allotments and appropriations that are sought to be made from year to year? Sir, a number of defects and irregularities have been revealed in these Reports, but they are so old, however, the House will bear with me if I point out some of them from these Reports, old as they are, because we have nothing current before us. And I do not know when the Reports for the years 1951-52 and 1952-53 will be coming into our hands. Perhaps we shall no longer be Members of this House when these Reports are out. So I have to depend on the past, for the present is the product of the past; I shall take point by point from this Appropriation Accounts. On page 31 is given the loss to Government due to theft, fraud or neglect and then there is a second category—actual losses due to other causes. If you read the figures for 1949-50, it will be seen that the total loss due to theft, fraud and neglect was Rs. 5,54,387.

Loss due to other causes was as follows:—

	Rs.
By fire	5,30,686
By deficiencies in actual balances	100,94,231
By Deterioration	23,11,987
By defective storage	58,481
In transit	16,20,046
Miscellaneous causes	14,90,758

Sir, the grand total of losses due to all these causes comes to Rs. 1,66,60,576. It may be argued that these were the years of uncertainties, but then how are we to be convinced how the finance of the Defence Ministry is being managed if we are unable to have the current Audit Reports as we should have them. The Finance Minister places all the Audit Reports before the two Houses when he makes his Budget Speech. It is the duty of the Finance Ministry to place all Audit Reports including the Defence Audits on the Table of both Houses. It is laid down in Article 151 of the Constitution. In that Article no time limit has been fixed, but certainly there should not be such an inordinate delay of years and years, especially when the Reports are ready. They are signed by the Finance Minister, they go to the press and then does it take one year to lay them on the Table? Sir, it is not with a feeling of suspicion or any other kind of fears that I draw Government's attention to this, but certainly I do feel strongly. Defence Department is the biggest spending Department in our Central Budget, and because it is the biggest spending Department, I do feel that its Audit Reports should be ready in time. I feel that we should have the arrears of all its Audit Reports straight-away laid on the Table of this House. Under the "Defence Services Estimates for 1952-53", there is a separate Division of the Ministry of Finance (Defence) for dealing with defence matters having a financial bearing. So, if that is so, I do not see why there should be this inordinate delay to place before the House the Reports that are still in arrears. While we can only comment, I do hope that Government will take up this question—

[Shrimati Violet Alva.] tion seriously. But nobody seems to be here from the Ministry of Defence, however this is interlinked with Finance and I think the Finance Minister should convince us on the points raised when he replies. Even the Finance Minister is not here.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh) : There is a question of dignity. I think there should be some Ministers of the Departments concerned.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Leader of the House is there.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: A debate is going on about the Defence Ministry and yet not one of them is present here. Such a thing never happened in the old British days.

THE LEADER OF THE COUNCIL (SHRI C. C. BISWAS): The other Minister has gone to the other House to fetch the Finance Minister.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: Is the Finance Bill being taken up in the other House?

SHRI C. C. BISWAS: That is what I am told.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: The various Ministers should take a little more interest in this House and answer the remarks made on the floor of this House in a little greater detail. It is regrettable that the Audit Report for the year T949-50 was not laid oh the Table until 9th April 1953 and that too was done after questions and criticisms were raised in the House of the People.

On page seven of the "Audit Report 1949-1950" in regard to certain defects it is said: "No disciplinary action is proposed to be taken as the Defence authorities are of the view that the uneconomical operation of the contracts in question could not be ascribed to any neglect on the part of the officers concerned." "The uneconomical operation of the contracts and the consequent loss to Government could have been avoided." That is on page seven. Now I turn to

page 27, "General Remarks". "On the whole the standard of financial administration was not as satisfactory as it should be and the need for stricter financial vigilance was apparent from the many irregularities noticed, their *modus operandi* and losses to public exchequer." Now I will cite a few specific instances. The following irregularities were noticed in this connection:—

(a) In respect of certain properties a sum of Rs. 1,89,863 was paid as terminal compensation in 1947 although the valuation of the properties made at the - time of requisitioning was Rs. 54,600 only.

(b) Rent was calculated incorrectly in one case by inclusion of the cost of land twice, involving an overpayment of Rs. 72,800.

(c) On the requisition of a residential building, the owner was paid, in addition to the rent of the building, compensation amounting to Rs. 10,000.

And so on and so on. There are so many cases here. There are far too many, but I cite just a few. This is from the Audit Report for 1949-50 placed before us only last week. If this is going to be the state of affairs, and I once again emphasise that the audit of the defence services is very important, and, in view of the new department that they have set up, it is time that they work faster and give us their reports especially before the Appropriation Bill comes up for discussion here. We have still to know what has happened in 1950-51. We have still to know what has happened in 1951-52. We have still to know what has happened in 1952-53. It is good that the hon. Members in both Houses analyse the different items of purchases made. Especially my hon. friend Pandit Kunzru brings to light so many irregularities and so many wrong kinds of purchases made. But what about what is going on in this country in

our own defence services, right here at home? We do not know many things. We have to wait for some one to take an interest and ask questions and then begin to work. I request the Finance Minister to make note of this and place before us the audit reports with the Appropriations and proper appendices long before the next Budget session comes round.

I do not wish now to take much of your time, but I do want to touch a few other points on the Indian Air Force. Recently there was a question put in this House to elicit a reply as to the number of accidents that took place in India. Of course for security purposes and in the public interest that figure was not revealed. But, Sir, two very bad accidents have occurred in December and January. In one case a young I. A. F. pilot who took off crashed because the wing got separated. I just want to know whether the condition of the plane is checked properly before the officer takes off. In the second case which occurred in January, when an officer took off, within five minutes he crashed because the chokes would not work. We come back here to another question that was asked on the floor of the House and the answer was then given that we had to make some purchases from the salvage departments of different countries for our Air Force. When a young man goes into the Air Force, he has to write off his life. Quite true. And recently, when the Air Force Conference was held, young men were told amongst other things that they should not contemplate marriage until they were grounded. Despite it all there are too many crashes. And we hear all these cases, the Government can certainly not keep away all facts. The public does come to know of these crashes. We do come to know what is happening inside the services. These young men or their friends or their relations do get into touch with Members of Parliament and describe the awful circumstances under which

sometimes our pilots have to work. Whatever our planes may be, it must be seen that they are in proper working condition. It is not easy for a whole wing to fly off and for the man to crash on that account. Such things do not happen. And I must here say that our pilots have rendered a very good account of themselves even in the international sphere. I am told that an Indian pilot gave the best record for a flight from London to Paris or from London to Rome. He broke all records of other pilots of other different countries. If this is the record of our young men in the Air Force, should we lose so many per year? I think last year we lost more than eleven.

Then, Sir, in the case of the purchase organisation, of course now that Mr. Tyagi is the Minister for Defence Organisation, I should think all purchases should be made on a sounder basis. When any purchase is made, it is common sense that the man who goes to make the purchase takes with him an expert in the line. If one has to buy anything like a cycle, one takes an expert to make the purchase. I think in purchases of military equipment it is very necessary to have experts who know the working of the machine or equipment which is to be purchased. It is very necessary for a Defence scientist to be present when the contract is entered into, because we must check up the parts, and then it is very essential for the Finance (Defence) Ministry to scrutinise and rescrutinise before the contract is finalized. I particularly refer here to the recent contract made with a French firm for electronic and wireless equipment. In reply to a short-notice question that I had put, it was stated that it did not matter that France had a part of Indian territory in this country because the French firm had nothing to do with the French Government. Then I asked a question: Is it true that France is so advanced in electronics and wireless? Could we not have gone to Germany or America? Should we have made a contract with a French firm to produce-

[Shrimati Violet Alva.] equipment which is going to be used mainly by the Defence services? I personally think it was wrong, we should have gone to other markets and other countries. Here, as long as France has a pocket in India, I think we should boycott her on all fronts. Even in our own freedom movement, the first thing that we were taught was "Boycott British goods." Today we are free. Why do we not boycott these firms that come from countries that still want to retain pockets in India? If the contract can be rescinded, I suggest that the opportunity should be taken and we should look elsewhere. But I think the French experts have already arrived in India. In reply to my short notice question where I had asked whether we were fighting France at a diplomatic level or whether we were going to fight France at a war level, the Prime Minister said, "At a diplomatic level." Is it fighting at a diplomatic level that we go and bring experts from France and pour them into India—those people who would be directly connected with the Defence forces? I think it is not correct.

Sir, I want to make a passing reference to the Defence Academy at Khadakvasla. Khadakvasla is near Poona. Rs. 7 crores were to be spent on it. Seven thousand acres of land were involved to build up this Academy. More than half the amount has been spent but it is not yet near completion and it has not yet gone into action. A four-year course was prescribed. Now it is reduced to three years. Why? Out of that, two years will be spent by the boys at Khadakvasla and for one year they will have to go to Cochin or Bombay or to foreign countries. Why is it done so, having built up this Defence Academy, after reviewing so many places in India, from Karachi to Cochin, and having selected Poona? I have seen this place about three years ago. Why do we now change the course from four years to three? We know fully that for intensive training our boys

will have to go abroad in different places. Sir, they will be receiving about 500 boys every year. The original plan was to receive, I think, over 2,000 boys every year. This is another point which has to be scrutinised and I hope we shall hear the decisions taken on this Academy which is soon going to function.

I shall not take up any more points on the defence, but I shall wind up with a few points which I want to make about my own district Karnatak and they are in respect of communications. Sir, under Communications—Demands—on page 103 there is no provision made for opening any public telephone call office in the whole of North Kanara district. A number of call offices have been opened in different States and in different districts, but nothing is being done in North Kanara. This part of the country is very very backward. It has no communications at all. The hon. Minister in charge had said that this matter would be considered, but in the Budget proposals it has not been included. While speaking of North Kanara, I want to emphasise the two talukas of Sirsi and Kumta which are the business centres of North Kanara and from where, I think, over Rs. 2 crores worth of business is done every year. It deals with from coconuts to spices and all the other natural produce.

Then, Sir, no provision has been made for constructing Post Office buildings at Yellapur and Kuntla. If you look at U. P. or any other State, you will find that they have these provisions there in large numbers but when we come to the Bombay State and to the district of Karnatak and to North Kanara, we find that no provisions have been made. At these two places, the Post Offices have outlived their existence, especially the one in Kumta, which is absolutely in a dilapidated state. In U. P. circle as many as 60 projects have been sanctioned for staff quarters. I am not against U. P., but I also want to see that my district gets along with U. P. In Bombay circle there are only two projects

and they are at Bombay and Ahmedabad. Places like Poona, Sholapur, Hubli, Karwar and Dharwar deserve consideration. Then, I cite specifically the case of Dharwar Post Office which has outlived its existence and needs a new building. I may here say that even the Director General, Mr. Krishna Prasad, had made a remark in the Order Book of Dharwar Post Office that a new building for the Post Office in the compound of Collector's office was desirable. What has happened to this suggestion? None of these suggestions finds any place in this year's Budget. In U. P. circle projects for 28 new Post Office buildings have been sanctioned, whereas in Bombay circle there are only six and none in North Kanara which is the most backward part of the Bombay State. It needs plenty of Post Offices. It needs Telephone badly too. The requirements are there; the business is there; the subscribers would be forthcoming, especially in the business centres like Sirsi and Kumta, but still the matter has not gone ahead. With these few remarks, Sir, I take my seat.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, our defence forces are the largest single item of expenditure in the Appropriation Bill before us. Taking both the revenue and the capital expenditure; the defence forces will require about Rs. 235 crores in the course of this year. I should, therefore, like to say something on this subject. But I must say once more that it is a matter of deep regret to me that although there are four junior and senior Ministers connected with Defence, not one of them is present here. The Leader of the House said that he understood that they were all needed in the other House because the Finance Bill was being discussed. Is it creditable, Sir, that all the four Ministers connected with the Defence Ministry should be needed in the other House? I do not know how many Ministers are present in the other House, but I am sure that not all the Defence Ministers are present there. I think, I shall not be far wrong in saying that they are dealing

with their files quietly in their own rooms.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Perhaps neither here nor there.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: But it is a matter of great importance from the Parliamentary point of view.

Sir, the next point that I should like to refer to, is the arrangement made by Government for the administration of this Ministry. The Prime Minister is virtually the Defence Minister of India. There are two Deputy Ministers and there is one Minister of Defence Organisation, **but** it is obvious that the supreme control over the Ministry rests with the Prime Minister. The duties of a Prime Minister are extraordinarily heavy, but not content with the discharge of his own proper duties, the Prime Minister made himself responsible for dealing with the portfolio of External Affairs and now he has taken over the portfolio of Defence. Sir, however hardworking and gifted the Prime Minister may be, I cannot believe that any one man can bear the heavy burden that he is doing at present. **Nor** do I think that the arrangement is a sound one. The Defence Ministry had a Minister for itself like many of the other Ministries. Why that arrangement has been done away with, I do not know. Surely, among the Members belonging to the majority party in both the Houses of Parliament there is someone who can deal tolerably well with the affairs of this Ministry. I hope, Sir, that we shall hear before long that a regular Defence Minister has been appointed.

Sir, the next point that I should like to refer to is the National Cadet Corps. This Corps has been started with the object of giving such training to our youths as would make them disciplined and self-reliant, ready to follow and to lead. I am glad to say that the Corps has made fairly good progress in the course of the year that has just come to an end. The educationists with whom I have come in contact are of the view that the training given in:

[Shri H. N. Kunzru.] the Corps has had an excellent effect on the boys and I believe that the various State Governments also hold the same view. The Corps has been expanded by the addition of a Naval Wing and some technical units have also been started, for instance, Air Squadrons, Artillery Batteries, Engineer Platoons and so on. The movement is a popular one and the cadets have displayed a great deal of enthusiasm and keenness. About 10% of the annual admissions to the Military Wing of the Defence Academy are reserved for N. C. C. cadets, that is, direct Commissions. This means that direct Commissions are given to cadets who come up to the required standard. This was the system followed in England and the National Cadet Corps Committee recommended that the same system should be followed here in order to encourage our young men to join the National Cadet Corps. Apart from this, Sir, I understand that about 25% of the applications for the posts dealt with by the U.P.S.C. come from those who have passed through the N. C. C. Such a movement should obviously receive every encouragement both from the Government and the public. Nevertheless its progress has been hampered by financial difficulties. Some States were unable to increase the number of units. Others agreed to do so but subsequently found themselves unable to give effect to their desire for the expansion of the Corps. I fear, Sir, that if this state of things lasts, the progress of the National Cadet Corps, which has proved extremely useful, will come to a standstill. I fear, Sir, that in some States the Junior Division of the Corps might be abolished. That would be disastrous for, to do away with the Junior Division which deals with the high schools and the public schools and maintaining the Senior Division would be doing away with our schools and maintaining only our colleges and universities. It should be our effort to bring the boys during the most impressionable period of their lives under the influence of the training that is given in the Corps. But if the

Junior Division is abolished we shall never have the opportunity of giving even to a small section of the boys that training that would fit them for positions of responsibility.

I have so far, Sir, spoken of the boys only. But the position with regard to the girls is even more unsatisfactory. Taking numbers alone there are about 76,000 cadets including officers in the Junior and the Senior Division. But the number of girls in the Senior Division is only 120. If we take the officers only, again the number would be 434. If the National Cadet Corps movement is to be of value to the youths of our country—and the educationists and the State Governments are agreed on this point—then it is obviously necessary that we should expand not merely the units meant for the boys but also for the girls division. This would substantially add to the expenditure but if we want to have an efficient youth movement enabling the youth to find itself, to discover the talent latent in it and to acquire that initiative and discipline without which no true service to the country can be rendered, then it is obvious that the expenditure will be heavy. It should also be obvious that no expenditure however heavy on such a movement should be grudged. But unfortunately the financial situation of the country is such that unless the matter is seriously considered by the Central Government and efforts are made to find more money for the expansion of the Corps, the good work that is being done will remain confined to a small number of boys and a negligible number of girls. Several States are spending an appreciable sum of money on the maintenance of the Home Guards. In the U. P. a substantial sum of money is being spent on what is known as the Provincial Educational Corps. Now I submit, Sir, that on the value of all these three kinds of training there can hardly be any doubt and N. C. C. training is the best. The States are anxious, Sir, to give the benefits of such training as makes our boys disciplined and self-reliant to a large

number. The Defence Ministry has not been unmindful of this. Indeed it is perhaps better aware than any other Ministry of the need for instilling that spirit into our youths which would fit them for those positions of responsibility which would have to be filled in increasing numbers as time goes on and it has drawn up a scheme for the establishment of a youth Movement in which training would be imparted to a very large number of toos—practically to all the boys in the High Schools. It was experimentally tried in some institutions last year and it has been found to have been so good that the State Governments have been advised, I understand, to extend the Movement to all the boys in all the schools. Now the National Youth Movement will require much less money per unit than the Provincial ■ Educational Corps or the Home Guards or the N. C. C. Now, if the legitimate desire of the States for bringing as large a number of our young people under good influence as possible is satisfied by the National Youth Movement, I think we shall be justified in asking them to give more attention to the progress of the N.C.C. Taking things as they are, it will be possible for the Movement to make a substantial advance only if the Central Government shoulders a larger proportion of the expenditure than it does at present. The Senior Division is more expensive than the Junior Division. I understand that the expenditure on the Junior Wing Division amounts to about 40 per cent, and that of the Senior Division about 60 per cent. It is in respect of the Senior Wing, therefore, that greater help is needed from the Central Government and I think this help can legitimately be given by the Centre.

The next point that I would like to deal with is the purchase of equipment and ammunition left by the British Government in India. I understand that these have been purchased recently. Since the war ended in 1945, it is obvious that this material cannot be less than about eight years old. Perhaps it was collected nine or ten

years ago. If my information is correct, I would like to know why this old material has been purchased by the Indian Government. I shall doubtless be told that the Defence authorities were consulted before the material was purchased but even a lay man can understand that a great deal of caution should be observed in the purchase of old material. We have all heard about the conditions under which the material was kept from time to time and I fear that this material was far from being in a very good condition. I don't know whether economy was the consideration that impelled the Government and the Defence Ministry to go in for this old material but I should like to know what is the price that has been paid for it. Has it been purchased at the ordinary market rates, at the rates at which new material can be purchased.....

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR DEFENCE (SARDAR S. S. MAJITHIA) : At very much below that.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU:or at a greatly reduced price.

PROP. G. RANGA: Below of what? At which the new material can be purchased?

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: I don't know the price at which the material has been purchased but I should like to know what it is and what is the extent of the economy effected by the Government by going in for old ammunition and equipment. The first question is whether it was desirable to purchase this from the military point of view. Our Military Officers finding that they could not get the money that they wanted, may have felt themselves compelled to advise the Government to purchase the material that has been lying in India for eight or ten years or more. But the ultimate responsibility for agreeing to this transaction is that of the Defence Ministry. There is a fear among those who have

[Shri H. N. Kunzru.] heard of it that a wise deal has not been made.

The next thing that I should refer to is the rejection of cadets in the Defence Academy. Cases have come to my notice of cadets who were rejected 20 or even 30 months after their admission into the Academy. Is it creditable that the Military authorities should take so long to find out whether a boy has the necessary physical stamina or has the qualities that will make him a good officer? The cadets are selected in a particular way. The method of selection has been devised with the purpose of discovering whether those who aspire to join the Defence Academy have got the qualities that an officer of the Indian Army should have and yet we find that the authorities controlling the Defence Academy have rejected cadets after a long period on such grounds as those that I have mentioned. I think that this matter requires looking into. I don't for a moment want to cast any aspersions on the Defence Academy authorities. But there seems to be something wrong with the system of administration if cases like those to which I have drawn attention can occur. While the authorities at the top may be genuinely anxious to do justice to every boy, it is quite possible that the officers under them who report to them from time to time on the capabilities of the cadets are sometimes whimsical. I say so, Sir, because cadets who have gained good reports for physical stamina and the qualities of leadership have subsequently been found to be unfit owing to the absence of these things.

SARDAR S. S. MAJITHIA: Not due to that.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: I cannot hear the interruption. If anybody wants to interrupt me, he will please do so in an audible manner.

SARDAR S. S. MAJITHIA: All that I said, Sir, was that they are rejected because of want of those very quali-

ties. In certain cases it does happen, that as the system of instruction goes on progressing, we have stiffer and stiffer exercises, both physical and mental, and though in the initial stages you find that the person is all right, at the later stages, he is not all right. For instance, only the other day a case did happen that a boy after doing a route-march in the final stage fainted. Well, he had to go, being not physically up to the mark. It is only then that we found that he is not physically up to the mark and so we had to send him away. So in a case like that it does happen. But I would submit that the percentage is very very small. For example, speaking subject to correction, they would not be more than about two per cent.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: Two per cent-is not a small percentage in this case when we consider the official method of selection.

SARDAR S. S. MAJITHIA: No method can be perfect.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: Well, we are all laymen, Sir. But if the decision with regard to the cadet whose case was mentioned by my hon. friend rested only on the ground referred to by him, I can't congratulate the Military Authorities on their decision. My hon. friend, I am sure, has known many a time officers and soldiers fainting on parade. But does that mean that those who faint have not got the necessary physical stamina, that they are not up to the mark? He may have gone through many ordeals, not less hard, more than once before.

SARDAR S. S. MAJITHIA: In these progressive stages that we have, the more difficult exercises come up later

12 NOON on and * is quite possible that in the preliminary exercises he might be all right and in the advanced stages of the exercises he may not be all right and that is the reason why we have to send such persons away.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: Sir, I am well acquainted with the method of train-

ing and I am not interested in running down the Military Authorities. But I cannot accept the facile explanation given by my friend in the case of the boy who has been rejected only a few days before he was to be given his commission.

PROF. G. RANGA: Hear, hear; prejudices also play their role.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: I referred last year to the need for appointing an Indian as Director of Military Training. I did it during the debate on the Budget. I understand that after that debate, the existing Director of Military Training was given an extension. I was greatly surprised when I learnt it and I should like to know whether the extension was given before the Budget debate in May last or afterwards. In any case I* should like to know the period for which his service has been extended! and when that extension will expire. I also would like to know what the intentions of the Government are with regard to the appointment of an Indian as D.M.T. I know, Sir, the Minister for Defence organisation said in another place a few days ago that there were only 57 British officers in the Indian Army, 52 of whom were technical men. Now, I may say in the first place that I am not against having a few British officers in the Indian Army, if they are of high quality and their presence is useful to the Indian Army. I can myself name some officers whose retention would undoubtedly be in the interests of our Army. But the post of Director of Military Training is of great importance and I think there is no dearth of competent officers amongst Indians. Have British officers by all means for posts that cannot at present be held by Indian officers; but there is no reason why when competent Indian officers are available, they should not be allowed to occupy the key positions in the Military Administration at the Headquarters. I hope, Sir, that the spokesman of the Government will be able to assure me that Government have made up their mind to appoint a competent Indian

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officer as Director, Military Training, very soon.

The last point that I would like to deal with in connection with the armed forces relates to the matters that have already been brought to the attention of Government, namely, the purchase of jeeps and the purchase of anti-tank rifle grenades. I refer to these subjects again because the Audit Report on the Defence Services has forcibly drawn our attention to both these purchases. The Defence Minister said in reply to a question of mine last year that only 50 jeeps had been received and that there was no hope of the delivery of the jeeps contracted for taking place within the stipulated time.

I asked him whether Government were thinking of taking any action against the firm in question and he said that Government had that matter under consideration. Now, the Audit Report informs us that the Government of India decided to give notice to the firm calling upon them to perform their part of the contract failing which the Government would hold the firm liable to any damages for breach of contract. In reply, the firm have repudiated any responsibility and stated that the contract was at an end. The Government are now considering what further steps should be taken in the matter. Sir, we have suffered a loss of about Rs. 19 lakhs. Government should, therefore, tell us what they have finally decided to do. Can they take any action against the firm in question or will this sum of Rs. 19 lakhs be a dead loss? Another point on which I should like to have information is what measures Government propose to take to prevent the recurrence, to use the words of the Audit Report, of such disquieting incidents. What has happened, Sir, cannot be recalled but we can become wise for the future.

Now, Sir, a word about the antitank rifle grenades. I thought last year, Sir, that the employment of an intermediary British firm for the pur-

[Shri H. N. Kunzru.] chase of French grenades would impose an extra burden on the Defence Ministry. I believe that the Defence Minister denied that the purchases were being made at high price but the Audit Report, however, has the following remark to make on this subject: "A direct contract between the Indian Government and the manufacturers appears to have been feasible with the assistance of the foreign Government concerned. The interposition of intermediaries could not but involve the Government in the payment of a higher price to cover the intermediary's margin. The total additional cost to Government in large transactions of this kind cannot but be appreciated". The Report also has said that "the contract was concluded without the necessary financial concurrence in regard to the reasonableness of prices". I should like to know how Government maintained last year that they had not paid a higher price for these grenades than they would have done had they made proper arrangements for their purchase. I should also like to know how it was that the transaction was entered into without the necessary financial concurrence. The Audit Report has considered this point and has said: "It is considered that the responsibility for the happenings rests with the individuals and not with the system or groups." Well, it is not too late yet for Government to look into the matter for there may still be some persons responsible for the purchase who can be made to realise that the interests of Government cannot be neglected with impunity.

Sir, I shall now say a word or two with regard to the question of prices. Recently it seems that prices have risen though to a very small extent. If we take the food grains, we find that a slight rise has occurred not merely between March 1952 and March 1953 but also since March 1953. If we take the cereals and the pulses separately, we find that the rise was heavy in the beginning in the case of pulses and

that the prices of cereals went down but subsequently it seems to me that the price of pulses fell and that of the cereals went up. In any case, the net result has been to increase the cost of living for the working men. This is shown by the cost of living index. I believe that the index shows a decline in Madras but an increase in a number of other places, such as Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Kanpur. This is not, Sir, the whole of the matter. It seems anxiety has been caused to at least one Minister by the trend in prices. The Commerce and Industry Minister said on the 27th March last in another place: "Hon. Members would share with me the alarm which I express when I see the cost of living index going up steadily. It may be that our Plan has no use; it may not be ambitious but the whole scheme of our Plan is based on our keeping the price line fixed and, in this connection, I do not mind admitting to the House that I am rather perturbed at the tendencies that now show which would make the cost of living of the average man go up. The Government have to take all precautions to keep the price down." I should like to know, Sir, what steps have been taken or are being taken by the Government to deal with this matter for, even though the rise may be very small, it cannot but be regarded with apprehension in view of the very serious effect that even a small rise in prices will have on our ability to carry out the Five Year Plan fully.

Sir, there are many other things that I should have liked to speak about but I shall not do so. I shall, however, ask your indulgence to deal with one more matter only and that too very briefly. Sir, a Committee was appointed last year—I think early last year—known as the Armed Forces Re-organisation Committee to make a critical examination of the organisation and equipment of the Armed Forces. The Finance Minister said, with regard to the work of this Commission, in the course of his Budget speech this year: "The conclusion so far reached in regard to the scales of

equipment of certain establishments and the reorganisation of some services are of considerable importance from the point of view of ultimate economy and although I cannot say that the estimates for the coming year reflect very much of this, I am confident that in course of time they will yield appreciable savings." Now, Sir, so far as I know, the Chairman of this Committee was General Himmat-singhji. Since his appointment as Lieut.-Governor of Himachal Pradesh no military officer, I understand, has taken his place. How is this Committee which consists of laymen only—though they may be laymen connected with Defence Ministry—considering such important measures as the standard of equipment and the reorganisation of forces? I do not know, Sir, what their recommendations are. We are asked to expect substantial savings as a result of their recommendations. But what I should like to be assured about is that any economies that Government may make will be the result not of investigations made by laymen, but of a thorough inquiry by military experts. Sir, I do not understand how, if it is necessary for us, how if we cannot reduce the strength of our armed forces, we can reduce the standard of our equipment or agree to any reorganisation. If we want to have less ammunition, I can understand our wanting less ammunition for our army if it is made small. But if the army is kept at its present size—and the situation does not warrant any reduction in it—I do not understand how any reduction can be made with safety in the standard of equipment and how any reorganisation can be expected that could lead to economy immediately. If, Sir, we could feel a greater sense of security about our frontiers, I can easily understand the desire of Government to reduce military expenditure, but so long as the present situation lasts, I am unable to understand the reasons for which a distinction is being sought to be made between the strength of the armed forces and the ammunition, vehicles and equipment that will be available to them. I hope, Sir, that

my hon. friend Sardar Surjit Singh Majithia or any representative of the Defence Ministry who takes part in the debate will throw some light on this question. The prospect of economy will doubtless be welcome to every Member, but in a matter of this kind we have to act very cautiously and I must say that the Finance Minister's words have made me apprehensive that the desire for economy may, owing to the pressure of both Houses of Parliament, appear to Government to be more important than the prudence required by considerations of national security.

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH (Madhya Bharat): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am afraid I am going to belie the hopes.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Defence again?

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH:..... No, Sir, I am not going to speak on Defence. I am going to speak about some other Department which I consider equally important. I refer to the Postal Department. I have very carefully gone through the Reports we have received regarding the Postal Department and also the various Demands that have been asked for under this Head. I am very happy to see, Sir, that the Postal Department is making a definite effort to extend postal facilities in the rural areas. I find that the number of post offices opened in rural areas in 1952-53 is 1721 and we have been assured of a programme of a post office to every village having a population of 2,000 and this programme is expected to be completed before the end of the year. I am further happy to note that the Department wishes to create such conditions so that no one save in exceptional circumstances like the thick jungles of Gondwana and the desert areas of Rajasthan has to walk more than five miles to reach a post office. The progress which the Postal Department is making in this direction is very commendable.

But the postal authorities must bear one aspect in mind very carefully. We

[Dr. Raghubir Sinh.] are expanding our postal services and quite rightly, but the question of their efficiency is also very important and I feel that all this expansion and the speed with which we are doing that will not serve the purpose if the requisite efficiency is not maintained. I find from the Report that has been submitted to us that particular efforts are being made for delivery of post "to villages of 500 and above at least once a week. In these days of intense political activity and excitement, I do not know if even those far-flung villages would be satisfied with a postal delivery of once a week. I am also noting, Sir, from the Report that a Special Enquiry was started to enquire into the efficiency of the Postal Organisation and its Report is under consideration by the Ministry. But from practical experience I find, Sir, that much needs to be done to increase the efficiency of the Postal Department and I can detail these cases under three different headings. Firstly I find, Sir, that many a time inordinate delay occurs in transit. I can quote you a case where a letter takes three to four days to cover a distance of forty miles. I think that within that period you can easily send a letter to places thousands of miles away in far off countries like the United Kingdom. Then again, there is a good deal of inefficiency in sorting. I have got with me the cover of a letter which I received only a few days back. This is a letter written to me by the Postmaster-General, Central Circle, addressed to me to my home town which is within the Central Circle. I was very much interested to note that the letter strayed away from the Central Circle and found its place in the Dead Letter Office at Lucknow and could reach me only after a period of 15 days. When a letter addressed by the Postmaster-General himself has strayed so far away, I shall not be surprised *If* any of our letters strayed away also.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The department is impartial,

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH: Yes. Then, Sir, I must also mention that many times it is not only miscarriage but complete loss in transit. That has been my unhappy experience. I find that even letters labelled "Express Delivery" are never delivered, though the distance to be covered is not more than 100 miles. I can quote from personal experience that a letter despatched from Udaipur by Express Delivery, expected to reach me within 16 hours, never reached me. Then, a V. P. parcel from Benares addressed to me never reached me. I do not know where it has gone, and what has been its fate. These cases can not only be quoted from far off places like Benares or Nagpur; the efficiency of the Post Office in Delhi itself is amazing. Last year a registered letter was sent to me by the District Manager, Delhi Telephone District, addressed to me at the Constitution House; it never reached me. I do not know where it has gone. The Delhi Telephone District sent inquiries to the Postmaster-General here, but I do not know what has been done; I have got a copy of the letter making inquiry in the matter.

All these cases are cases of inefficiency. There is inefficiency because we are expanding rapidly. I would suggest" to the postal authorities and the Ministry of Communications that while we expand, we must also make it a point to maintain efficiency. In this respect I would like particularly to bring to the notice of the Minister for Communications that the efficiency of the Postal Department reached a particularly high water-mark before the last war—in 1937, 1938 and 1939. During the last war, the railway communications had to be depleted; the number of railways had to be reduced. That resulted in a complete jolting of the communications system, and inefficiency came in. The war is a thing of the past, and the Railway Ministry has been kind enough to restore the trains that had been taken off the timetable. But the postal authorities have so far not thought of

reviewing and readjusting their activities with a view to removing the * disjoint that was caused ten years ago. I would rather particularly wish that the various Circles may be asked to examine the communications in their areas with the object of expediting the movement of the post.

Then again, in rural areas it is very necessary to see that the post is duly delivered in those unsupervised regions. It was only yesterday that, when I was talking to a colleague of mine here about the difficulties in the postal communications, he mentioned to me a very interesting case. He said that in a certain rural area there were continual reports of letters not being delivered to certain villages. On inquiry it was found that a postman, in order to avoid going to distant villages, made a short-circuit of everything, and went on burning the letters addressed to those villages. Certain steps have to be taken in that connection. I do not say that such things are very common. But it is not very uncommon that many a time letters in the rural areas stray away because the postman did not himself go to the village but merely handed over the letters to somebody else.

Before I conclude my remarks on this subject, I would like to point out that the points I have made & Spertyc seem to paint a dismal picture. But I assure you that the picture is not as dismal as it seems to be. In this connection I am reminded of a story about the German post offices. Over 70 or 80 years ago, certain Sanskrit pandits from India addressed a letter to Max Muller. They addressed him as "Moksha Mulaha" and put down his address in Germany describing Germany in the usual classical Sanskrit style of the Puranas. When the letter reached Germany, to the surprise of everybody including Max Muller, the letter was delivered to Max Muller within ten hours of its receipt in Germany. I read that story many times with real amazement. I am happy to inform the House that 'many of our Indian postal authorities

are not also less awake. Quite lately I have been receiving certain packages of catalogues of books from Germany, and what happened was that they gave my name and my house name but they forgot to put the name of my town, and only put down "Central India". Here that package was first sent to Indore, and there somebody filled up the gap and put down the name of my home town. I can say that such packages have been very easily delivered to me within five or six days of their arrival in India. Therefore, I say that the picture of our postal authorities is not so very dismal. The only thing I wish to repeat again is that the efficiency of the rural postal areas should be increased.

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SHRI M. S. RANAWAT (Rajasthan): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I first of all join in the protest against the manner in which this Council of Elders, as it is called, is being treated by the Government Benches, particularly the Ministry. Somehow or other, I feel that the Opposition Member may be thought to be talking only for opposition's sake. But I believe, even the Congress Benches—all elderly Congressmen also feel that the House is not receiving the treatment which it ought to receive. The debate on the Budget is going on. Two days are nearly gone and probably it will be one day more and we have seen some symbolic representation of Government in one or two Deputy Ministers here and there. This is not a very healthy state of things and "I think it requires more serious consideration. If that is not done, we will take it that our crying here is not taken any notice of and I strongly protest against this treatment. In this matter I join with my hon. friend Dr. Kunzru.

Now, Sir, with the short time at my disposal I would only be taking certain few important

THE MINISTER FOR DEFENCE ORGANISATION (SHRI MAHAVIR TITAC ' • May I take it that the hon. Member's protest is directed to Dr. Kunzru?

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT: Against the whole Ministry—combined.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Is it possible, Sir, for a Minister to be present in both the Houses at one and the same time physically?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT: There are 40 of them.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Minister in charge of the Bill is here. So please go on.

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT: That is one thing, Sir, which we cannot ignore. Of course if our Congress friends want that there should be only one Minister or no Minister, that is a different thing and we will also write our speeches and send them by post. Why have a House then at all? There are 40 Ministers and it is in your power to have even 100 Ministers. When the British Ministers were not present in the House, our leaders took severe action and strongly protested against them. There are 40 Ministers here.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Whether there are ten or forty, it does not matter, when the Minister in charge is there.

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT: Now, I go to the Ministry of Defence. And I tell you that great injustice has been done to the Part B States and the Indian State forces. That has repeatedly been pointed out. And that injustice has been done with some purpose. As a matter of fact, one of the officers who was put on to this job did it with thorough vengeance. It was his policy that the number of Indian State Force officers should be reduced as far as possible so that it will be easier for the British Indian units to carry on and we know that cases of State forces regarding pensions etc. are still hanging fire. Anyway, that gentleman who was a very favourite man and who did it, got his reward and Government got him a very good

job — Lieutenant-Governorship —because he had helped the British Indian army people in such a way that the State forces had suffered at his hands.

The second thing, Sir, that I would suggest is that particularly in the States of Rajasthan and Madhya Bha-rat there should be some special effort from the recruitment point of view. From that point of view, they are the backward parts, because the arrangements of recruitment there formerly, when the British were ruling, were not enough and now after the army has been amalgamated, all those chances of recruitment in State forces are lost. In this connection, I would like to give you one example. There is a territorial army recruitment. Now, Sir, there are zones in this and the zone with which I am concerned is a huge zone. It begins from the Punjab and ends at Narbada. It includes the United States of Rajasthan, Patiala, East Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, United States of Madhya Bharat and Bhopal. And where is the recruitment centre? Now they have got only two kinds of recruitment in this zone. One is the Royal Indian Artillery and the other is infantry. Now, Sir, the Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan form an extensive area and they have very fine fighting material which has got a historical background. These people have always fought even under Moghuls beyond Kabul and they have always shown their valour. One territorial army recruiting centre for infantry is at Delhi and the other centre is at Ferozepore. These are the only two centres in such a big zone. New Delhi and Ferozepore are quite close. The Ministry talks and says there should be no classes, no castes. But here, Sir, what is being done? You only want to have a particular class of people. Sir, they have one centre at Nasirabad, but that centre is for Royal Indian Artillery—a technical sort of a unit. I would therefore suggest that the Army Minister should see to it that there are more territorial army recruiting centres placed in Rajasthan. If you put one at Nasirabad or say at Mhow, probably

you would be having a better recruitment as our youths at present do not know any details, centre being at such a distance.

Now, Sir, the third thing that I would suggest is that some arrangement should be made or something should be done so that you can have a great number of Rajputs being recruited in your army, in your officers cadre. There was a special organisation in former Indian States; they had the cadets recruited through certain educational institutions but now it being on an all-India basis, I would request that the Defence Ministry should take some special steps in order to get the people from that great martial race so that you will have a good number of those people also getting a chance; otherwise we will lose good people from those areas and that will be a great loss to the country.

Another thing I want to say, Sir, about the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. It is a small point, but still it requires 'a little examination. I have looked into the figures of the imports of foreign liquors, drinks and intoxicants. I have looked into the last three years' figures. We are roughly speaking, importing these things worth Rs. 1 crore and 68 lakhs. That is in the year 1951-52. Well, this is an average figure; so I take only this figure. In 1948 we had about 1 crore and 68 lakhs. In 1949 we had one crore only. In 1950 we had 1 crore and 18 lakhs; in 1951 we had 1 crore and 68 lakhs. Now that is a fair amount of the foreign exchange we are paying for. Now out of this if you examine item No. 82 which according to the Customs Classification comes under Ale's and Beers' we import worth 58 lakhs which is about 11 lakhs gallons. Under item No. 84 'Whisky, Brandy, Rum', the import is 3 lakhs gallons, and it costs 80 lakhs of rupees. The import of wines and liquors is 70,000 gallons and it costs 30 lakhs. Now, Sir, these things were brought into this country by the Britishers. They always tried to arrange the trade of this country in such a way that the

higher-priced commodities were all imported from other countries and only the lower-priced things were allowed to be manufactured in this country. They somehow or other had their excise policy formulated in such a way that this country produced only the intoxicating drinks which was fit enough for the average poor man whereas the other things • meant for the rich people, which carried with them a higher amount of profit were all imported. The craving for such imported stuff still persists in this country.

Now we have got huge eastern countries on both sides of this country and I feel that India can develop this industry and India can be one of the greatest exporters of this kind of manufacture/s if only Government will take it* into their head.

Now as regards beer and the manufacture of beer there are probably one or two concerns in India worthy of name. I am told there is one in Solan. They are producing probably a fairly good material but I do not know whether the thing produced by them can compete with the imported stuff but that is a thing which requires to be looked into.

SHRI M. C. SHAH: What are your suggestions?

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT: Yes, I shall give you the suggestions. Let me first examine those two things. Now beer is a thing which does not last for more than three months. Now foreign beers come in with certain things, with a sort of what you call preservatives which are not good. Now I would examine Indian manufactures and find out whether they can bear comparison with the material which the foreign country is producing. Then you can ask these people i.e. producers to reduce their prices and make them competitive or you put some higher tax on the imported stuff so that this industry can grow. I believe you can develop this and in course of time export the stuff from India. We are

[Shri M. S. Ranawat.]

importing even Whiskey and other things from Australia and Africa which are equally hot countries as our own and-I cannot understand why we cannot manufacture these. About 20 years ago these things (i.e. Australian Whiskey etc.) were not even known whereas now the demand for these in our country is great. But this is a thing which is still coming into this country and which our manufacturers in India or any distiller in India can produce. But Indian products have no patronage of the Government. It may be that the Congress Government may not be inclined to encourage the development of such intoxicants in our own country. **But** in the interest of our commerce and trade and with a view to put an end to the spending of our foreign exchange on such things this should be, done. These if exported by us to our near East and Middle East countries would bring us money. I understand there is one manufacturer of Whiskey called 'Hayward' near Calcutta who seems to be established and probably is building up an export trade. As the time at my disposal is short, I am not able to give you all the details but if the Minister is interested I can give him further details, because in the States we were dealing with manufacture of these independently of the British rulers whose trade we did not want to thrive in those States.

Now, Sir, I come to the Education Ministry. There is the question of Hindi and every time that question comes in we have been quarrelling with the non-Hindi speaking States. Well, this is not the right way of approach. I would suggest what the Governments of the Hindi-speaking States should do or ought to have done. There is no fun in asking the non-Hindi States to go in for Hindi when your Hindi States are doing nothing about it. You are not moving an inch in that direction. You have U. P., Bihar, Rajasthan, Punjab, Madhya Bharat and Bhopal and all these are Hindi-speaking areas. Why did not Hindi become overnight the

language of these regions? I mean, if you cannot have that in U. P., Bihar, Rajasthan, etc. you cannot expect any other State say Gujarat or Madras or Bengal to take to Hindi at once. In U. P. the people know Hindi. It used to be in Urdu script. Devnagri is quite all right there. The Education Ministry has set up a Board of Scientific Terminology and that Board is working since two years. I do not know what money is being spent on it. I am told that they could hardly coin 1,500 words. Well, if instead of spending money on this Board, they would have asked the educational institutions in this regard, they would have given these things readily and they would have coined more words. Through private effort we could have these things done. Then for Hindi we have a Sanskrit background and we have a Persian background. The Punjab, part of Rajasthan and part of U. P. have each more of the Persian background or the "Persian language background. We are not going to do away with it and it will not pay to do away with it. The other day I was in Amritsar and saw my friend whiling away his time in hearing the Pakistan radio because it was in his language. Language is not to be forced upon any area or person. Language has its growth and these languages have come to stay in India. That Hindi has both Persian and Arabic influence. We must retain it. The first thing I would strongly suggest is that so far as the Hindi-speaking States are concerned, make Hindi their court language and State language. They can maintain an English correspondence department for correspondence with the Central Government. In Rajasthan, and Madhya Bharat, in Gwalior and other States our High Courts were giving judgments in Hindi. Our Sessions Courts were also giving judgments in Hindi. In some places the script was Urdu. What happened with the advent of Independence? You are sending your I. C. S. officers who do not understand the Hindi language. Why do you send to Rajasthan people who do not understand the Hindi language? You have got any number of Hindi-speaking officers. You send

them to us so that they will be sending long reports to the Government of India that Hindi cannot work. Those who speak Hindi start quarrelling with the non-Hindi speaking people when the subject of Hindi is discussed. Honestly we can say to all the non-Hindi speaking States, "You go on with your language, continue English by all means. You learn Hindi in a way you like; it may be 15 years or 30 years; it may be any number of years; you take your own time". If you quarrel with them on the subject of Hindi they can easily say, "Your own States are not following it; you could not introduce it as the State language even after a period of 5 years in Hindi States". Then the third thing is the general policy of education that is followed. We are taking pride that we are manufacturing a large number of matrics and B.A.'s

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Education is a State subject.

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT: This is regarding the Secondary Education Commission.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Sufficient has been said about it.

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT: For the economic problems we have found the solution in the Five Year Plan. It is quite good. It is some effort but the question is the way the country is moving, the way the thoughts of the people are moving, the way the people's demand is coming, the way the revolutionary spirit in the youth is growing. Are you keeping pace with it? If you are not, by the time you finish your Five Year Plan there will be other people to question it and you will be cornered to reply to that. It should not satisfy us that we have done something but you have to do it in a way in which it can meet the general expectations of the people. If you don't keep to the time, the revolution will keep to the time. People don't wait for leaders and people and masses don't wait for certain hopes to be given. They have to come quick

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and in time. You find fault with our Communist friends and others who don't agree with you. It is all right. The point is, do we take any lesson from them as to how things are going and are we prepared to do something which will meet the expectations of the people so that the Communist may not get hold of them and you may continue. I have no particular love with any of them. It is a piece of advice if you want to have it that you should do things in time. I will give you one example. Our Prime Minister is giving advice—"Don't be communal". The question is does anybody, in the Government or those who are charged with the Government really care to carry out the Prime Minister's policy? You see what is happening in the Services. If one South Indian gentleman comes and if he is a Brahmin, you will find a lot of Brahmins in the services. When a non-Brahmin comes, you will find non-Brahmins. When a Kayastha comes you will get Kayasthas. It is an open fact and any sane man will find this happening. If there is a gentleman of Mathur caste, you will get all Mathurs, if you get Bhatnagar, you will get all Bhatnagars. Things have grown into families.....

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI (Nominated): You started referring to about Communists and now you talk of communalism.

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT: I am sorry.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Is this meeting of ours a Kayastha Conference?

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT: If I don't know, I am prepared to come and learn from my friend because he is an old man. I may tell some things which you all know and you all feel. But here you take shelter. You say we should not talk like that. The point is if you really want to make it broad-based, all these feelings of the people in authority must be properly checked and if there is anything done fishy at any level, they should be properly dealt with.

I don't say that it is right. We in the States never allow those things.

[Shri M. S. Ranawat] The Britishers also were very careful but now perhaps there is not one man who can check it. Some of my friends suggest that Pandit Nehru must have a system of spies like Vikramaditya so that they can report to him and say "These are your officers and Ministers who are doing exactly things against what you say and what you want them to do and still take cover under you and say to you that everything is all right." How is the Prime Minister to know that things are going in a particular way. The communalist idea has eaten the very heart and bone of the

, Nation. Take the Education
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Ministry. The hon. Minister is a very elderly and serious gentleman. Take the list of senior officers. There is hardly one man who is not of that one community. Why not? It is so and very probably the poor old Minister does not know anything of it and somebody else is manipulating things that way. But these are things which you have got to check. I have no particular axe to grind nothing in particular personally to grumble about; but from the general point of view this is something which should be set right and the whole nation, the whole Administration is suffering on account of this kind of thing and the machinery of the Government does require a thorough cleaning up.

Next I would request this policy of the party in power, of selecting Ministers and Deputy Ministers to be looked into. Let them have some clear criteria for their selection. Let it be experience, let it be anything. But the habit in the Party seems to be that even if you make 600 ministers and if five are left out, they feel that they too should have been provided for, that they too should have been in. This kind of feeling has gone into the very fibre of our nation and every honest man is wasting his energy in manipulating how best he should get into the Ministry. Whether it is there or not, I cannot say, but that is my general feeling. That is what I feel when I move about. That seems to be the guiding factor and I do not know

how long it will continue. Why not straightaway say that instead of 14 Ministers you will have 140? Or why not decide to have only ten? Have some big men who have done something substantial, some prominent, men, prominent not in the political propaganda, but some men who have done something, some work, an eminent lawyer, an eminent tradesman, some man who has made a mark in life as a producer of wealth, as a producer of work, not working only as a vocal leader. This last item should not be the sole test. You may give something to them also, give something to them as a favour—I understand such a thing was there in the beginning of American history—give them something as they have been helpful in getting votes. Do that by all means, but do not let them play with the nation's life, with the nation's money or the nation's education. So that is another suggestion that I have to make.

Now I come to my own State—the State of Rajasthan. I am glad one of my friends today told us some honest truths. I would request that the States Ministry should be closed as early as possible and let them leave us to our own fate. Rajasthan is not going to completely break down. It has lived through all these ages and lived honourably and we will give you good accounts. But leave us alone and do not keep on peeping on our people and on our Ministry as if we are still children. If there is something seriously wrong, as in Patiala, by all means you can step in and take up the Administration. But it is no good having this bungling about. Some man may be your Minister and later he becomes the Chief Secretary and then Adviser and all that. Then you say so and so knows too much. So I say, leave the Rajasthan Ministry alone and interfere only if that is necessary. The other day the State Minister said that he interferes only in three posts. Probably officially that is correct. But there is little difference now from those days when we had the Political Agents. You now say, of course, "We do nothing. Local

Ministers do everything." But the Political Officer also used to say His Highness did everything though in fact, every evening His Highness had to be told what is to be done. I say that you have got to get rid of this notion and then you will find that we will be able to show you that we are as efficient and as good as could be expected. After all, if you look into some of the big Part A States—I do not want to name some of them—certain things that are going on there are no better. The scandals are definitely far bigger than they could be in Part B States. Even the division of certain States into a kind of groups has gone too far. Therefore, let Rajasthan have its own way. Of course, wherever they need money you help them but don't interfere in their affairs, and let them have their own way.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, at this late hour, I will not be able to cover perhaps one-third of what I wanted to say but I think it would be better to say as much as I can now and I am hoping that tomorrow I will have a little more time.

Sir, I would at once begin with the subject of education. Though it has been covered to some extent during the Budget discussion, it does not seem from the reports we get that the subject is receiving the type of attention and the speed also with which certain questions should be dealt with. Sir, I would at first touch on the question of scholarships. I would like to mention here that a number of scholarships have been given by our Government during the last four or five years with a view to training our students and helping in the industrialisation of our country. But, after these scholarships, Government does not seem to have taken steps to see what happens to these scholars—whether they have finished their studies successfully, how many have come back, how many have been employed in Government organisations, if they have not been employed, what their difficulties are and also—I am speak-

ing about technical personnel—if they are going without jobs whether some sort of suitable scope is provided, even on honorariums for these people to keep their knowledge afresh until such time as use can be made of them by Government or other concerns. Technical and scientific subjects, Sir, are not such as by just studying at home can be kept afresh and also can be used to the best advantage of the country. Their knowledge otherwise goes rusty and all this waste of hundreds of thousands of rupees in the aggregate takes place. If Government does not get statistics up to date, as data as to what use is made of these people, it is best, Sir, not to send any more scholars without finding out whether there is likelihood of adequate provision for their being employed in the country.

Secondly, Sir, with regard to compulsory education, I would like to mention here that by the way that the Government is proceeding—treating the subject as a State subject and sometimes just giving a direction here and there through a Commission or through some conference to States—much progress cannot be made. It is known that States are depending entirely on the Central Government for help, for starting compulsory education and if we are going to keep our target of complete literacy in the country by the date fixed in the Constitution, we will have to introduce certain drastic measures *e.g.*, capital levy or some other measure like loan or even applying for a loan from the International Bank so that within the period of one year we will be able to take certain connected areas for compulsory education in States. I feel, Sir, it is time that instead of keeping Education as a State subject, we made this a joint responsibility for a period of two years or three years or at least for the period of the first Five Year Plan so that the Centre is able to guide the policy of compulsory education and the measures taken for it in the States. I would like, Sir, the Centre also to suggest ways and means by which the main difficulty in intro-

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Permanand.]

ducing compulsory education could be removed, that is, the dearth of teachers. There are not enough trained teachers on the one hand and, on the other hand also, there are not even enough institutions where these teachers can be employed. This might sound more a contradiction on the face of it. But there are States where attempts have been made to start new secondary training colleges and schools and yet some teachers are going without employment in the same places. This unsatisfactory state of affairs is there because measures are attempted without a proper survey and without direct contact with those who are implementing plans and those who carry on actual administration. So, Sir, Government must decide whether as a short-term measure they should not put education on war footing and whether they would not think it desirable to stop ordinary university education from the art side or make it shorter for a period of one year or condone one year's attendance as is done during war time in Western countries and then make use of these teachers by harnessing them for the purpose of village teaching.

I would also like to mention that before we expect our present day teachers to do overtime work or extra work, it is necessary for Government to lay down at once measures by which we could provide amenities to work our primary school teachers so that without at once raising their scales of pay we would be able to make their lives comfortable and rouse enthusiasm amongst them for this work which should be finished to at least one-third of its extent in the next year.

With regard to the Commissions, Sir, I would like to record here, I presume, the feeling of many educated women that on such an important body as the Secondary Education Commission, in particular it is regrettable that Government should not have found it possible to have, if not

half the number of members of the Commission as women, at least one woman member who would be able to see through the angle of vision from which such questions of women's education should be tackled. Without going further into the details of the working of the Education Department, I would only say one word that the pace with which the Education Department is moving is slow and its angle of vision is rather without vision.

With regard to cottage industries, I would like to make one or two remarks. Yesterday there was a Bill before the House which dealt with *khadi* and excise duty on mill made cloth. If one looked to the clauses of the Bill—I give this as an instance—there was a certain omission, in my opinion, of not levying the cess on exported cloth. It gives one an impression that all these measures are brought in in a great hurry. With regard to other legislative measures also, particularly those relating to the Commerce and Industry Ministry, one gets the impression that most of these are brought forward in such a hurry that very soon they have again to come forward asking for some further addition of a clause or two. I would suggest that if during the course of the year it is found necessary to have certain changes, except in the case of levying of urgent taxes, to suit a certain policy, all these could be noted down and a Bill should be brought forward as a comprehensive measure only after a lapse of a certain time. I would say that with regard to many other Bills also and it is the feeling amongst knowledgeable quarters that the present day legislation is more hasty and hurried in nature which has not had mature consideration of the question from all aspects.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member may continue tomorrow. The House stands adjourned till 8-15 tomorrow.

The Council then adjourned till a quarter past eight of the clock on Thursday, the 16th April 1953.